

The History Teacher's Magazine

EDITED UNDER THE SUPERVISION OF A COMMITTEE OF THE AMERICAN HISTORICAL ASSOCIATION.

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PHILADELPHIA, PA.

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Typical Steps of American Expansion*

BY J. FRANKLIN JAMESON, DIRECTOR OF DEPARTMENT OF HISTORICAL RESEARCH,
CARNEGIE INSTITUTION OF WASHINGTON.

Of the various accessions of territory which, from 1803 to 1903, have marked the expansion of the United States, the three largest, the Louisiana Territory, Alaska, and the Philippines, were won suddenly, by treaties for which the way had not been prepared by elaborate negotiations, nor by a long course of historical development. But most of the other acquisitions were obtained through a process marked by stages notably similar in the different cases, which may therefore be called typical in spite of some great exceptions. This process is the theme of the present paper. It is a process presented on the largest scale in the case of the acquisition of Texas, and therefore that instance may conveniently be described and analyzed first, in an order regardless of chronology.

It is maintained by some American authorities that the Louisiana cession of 1803 extended west of the Sabine River, and included more or less of Texas, but the treaty of 1819 between the United States and Spain fixed the boundary at that river. Within a few years Mexico won practical independence of Spain, and under the Mexican federal constitution of 1824 Texas, conjointly with the neighboring region of Coahuila, became a state of the federal republic—the state of Coahuila and Texas. Meanwhile settlers from the United States, especially from Louisiana, Mississippi, and Tennessee, began to flock into this wide and fertile territory, in which there were exceedingly few Spanish or Mexican inhabitants, and these mostly in the western part. Moses Austin, of Missouri, and Stephen Austin, his son, secured extensive grants, embracing thousands of acres, from the Mexican government, on condition of colonization. Other empresarios followed in their wake, and soon Texas had a considerable non-Spanish white population, several thousands in number, to a small extent German and French, but mostly American, and mostly from the Southern States. These brought with them a lesser number of slaves.

In days when the one important aspect of Texas history appeared to be its relation to the anti-slavery agitation, it was customary to believe that this inflowing white population consisted largely of desperadoes, and that their main occupation was to conspire against Mexico and for independence, chiefly in the interest of slavery. The best evidence now available depicts them rather as plain American frontiersmen, chiefly

occupied in making a living, and not deeply concerned with political affiliations. Some of them had left their homes because of crimes or because of pecuniary embarrassments, but most were pioneers of the ordinary type, reckless, audacious, and turbulent, but generous, warm-hearted, energetic, strong and self-reliant. Even under the forms of government with which they are most familiar such men are restive. Under unfamiliar forms of law, under a system based on that of Spain, with land-laws and rules of descent widely differing from the Anglo-Saxon, administered in another language, and without trial by jury, their restiveness is heightened, and can be allayed only by excellent and considerate administration. But Mexican administration fell under the control of Santa Anna, whose rule was a rule of violence and dishonesty. The suppression of the federal constitution left the Texans without power of self-government, and the military despotism which took its place pursued a course of tyranny, of oppression, and finally of bloodshed. Though it may well be that ultimate independence was foreseen by many, it seems clear that an overwhelming majority of the Texan population had no desire for the breach that actually occurred. But the approach of the bloodstained army which Santa Anna was bringing northward to stamp out opposition impelled the Texans to meet revolution with revolution. On March 2, 1836, Texas declared herself independent, asserted a boundary line at the Rio Grande, and presently, at San Jacinto, won a victory which secured her against Mexican conquest.

The new republic, with its Lone-Star flag, with an asserted area equal to that of Great Britain and France combined, but with a small population and precarious finances, maintained its independence for nine years. It was a homespun republic, whose capital, to the last, was a rude town of five or six thousand inhabitants, dwelling mostly in log cabins. Its Senate sat in a loft over a grocery, its House of Representatives in another loft, over a drinking-place in a small frame building. The Treasury Department occupied another part of this same building, partitioned into offices by screens of unbleached muslin, the War Department a log cabin with one glass window, the State Department a frame building merely clap-boarded. As in early Rome,

*Jura dabat populis posito modo praetor aratro,
Pascebatque suas ipse senator oves.*

But the independence of Texas was speedily recog-

* A paper read at the International Congress of Historical Studies, in London, April, 1913.

nized by the United States, Great Britain, and France; all three made treaties with it; all three maintained diplomatic representatives at its humble capital. Its published diplomatic correspondence fills three large volumes. For three years it played a highly important part in the diplomacy of these three powers and of Mexico. In view of its situation, of its financial weakness, and of the origin of most of its people, it was natural that annexation to the United States should be early advocated and should before long, though with some waverings of sentiment, be desired by the majority as its ultimate destiny. The four successive presidents, and many of the other public men of the new nation, were ambitious for continued independence. Great Britain, with some timid support from Louis Philippe, strove earnestly to maintain the republic in permanent independence, readily perceiving how useful to British cotton manufacturers and to the British West Indies a great cotton-growing, free-trade State, planted on the flank of the United States, might become, especially if it could be persuaded to abolish slavery. Lord Aberdeen even went so far as to declare that Great Britain would be willing, if assured of the support of France, to "go to the last extremity" [i. e., to war], with the United States in order to prevent annexation. The process by which annexation as finally brought about, in 1845, is too complicated a matter to be here described; but the main elements in producing that result were, natural regard of the people of the United States for a cognate population, the desire for American aggrandizement, the interest of slavery in increase of agricultural area, and resentment at the course of Great Britain.

In the process which has been described the salient stages are five. First, a body of American population flocks over the border and settles in a thinly-populated or unoccupied tract of alien territory. Secondly, it becomes restive under alien rule, either because the law is of unfamiliar character and form, or because that law is ill administered, as is likely to be the case in regions so thinly settled. Thirdly, it revolts, proclaims its independence, and organizes a national government modelled on that of the United States. Fourthly, in spite of some desires to sustain an independent career, it proceeds before long to seek annexation to the greater republic from which it sprang; and, fifthly, in these pleadings for absorption there is always present the declaration that if our native country does not take us some other power, usually England, will.

What is most noteworthy, however, is the number of times this history has repeated itself. Texas is but the largest and most conspicuous instance. The land invaded has usually been some portion of the old colonial empire of Spain, for the collapse of that empire gave rich opportunity and temptation in the Western hemisphere, much as did the collapse of the empire of the Great Mogul in the East, and the heirs of Spain were seldom strong enough to resist the advance of American energy. The process may be said to begin with the short-lived republic of West Florida, in 1810, when the struggle between the

supporters of Ferdinand VII and those of Joseph Bonaparte was still young; but a curious partial instance may be found as far back as 1664, and in a region not twenty miles from New York City.

New York City was then New Amsterdam, and the weak possessors were the Dutch, whose province of New Netherland was, in respect to population, wholly overshadowed by New England. The westernmost townships of Long Island were Dutch, but the easternmost were acknowledged to be under Connecticut jurisdiction, those of the middle portion of the island were of English population, and New England settlers were aggressively pushing toward the west, throughout the last years of the Dutch rule, under which they were constantly restive. In the winter of 1663-1664 Major John Scott, a picturesque adventurer, who had somehow got wind of the English designs on New Netherland, came over to these new English villages, and announced to the settlers that King Charles had granted Long Island to the Duke of York, who would soon make his intentions manifest. Under his persuasions six English townships formed a "combination," as they called it, to govern themselves independently of Connecticut, and empowered Scott to "act as their president until His Royal Highness the Duke of York or His Majesty should establish a government among them." After proclaiming the King, the new president, at the head of 170 men, set out to conquer the five Dutch villages at the west end of the island. The Dutch towns remained faithful. Connecticut interposed, claiming all Long Island as embraced in its charter, forced the English towns into submission, imprisoned Scott, replaced his officers by men of its own appointing, and brought his ambitious "combination" to an end, a few months before the English conquest of all New Netherland.

Without stopping to note the differences which mark this early colonial instance nor to speak of the quaint Muscogee State which the Maryland adventurer, William Augustus Bowles, maintained among the Creek Indians from 1799 to 1803, we pass to the case of the republic of West Florida. West Florida was the small region bounded on the west by the Mississippi, on the south by Lake Pontchartrain and the Gulf of Mexico, on the east by the Perdido River, and, after the thirty-first parallel of north latitude had been settled upon as the boundary of the United States on the north, by that line. Ever since the acquisition of Louisiana in 1803, the United States government had constantly asserted that West Florida was included in the terms of that cession, for the district blocked the mouths of the rivers flowing out of Mississippi and Alabama, much as New Orleans in Spanish or French hands had closed the outlet of the greater region to the northward. Historically the claim had little foundation, and Spain as constantly denied it. But Spain's control of the colony was weak, and increasingly so after the Napoleonic invasion, till in 1810 the conditions, especially in the western or Baton Rouge district (the governor was at Mobile), were substantially those of anarchy.

By this time the settlers of that western district, perhaps 1,500 in number, were nearly all Americans

from north of 31°, with a considerable sprinkling of Tories (Loyalists) of British proclivities, and some men who would have preferred a connection with France. Influenced by a desire to end anarchy, by the spirit of revolution, which was rending the Spanish empire, and in many cases doubtless by the wish to make good terms for themselves on being annexed, the men of this western district held a convention, and ostensibly in the name and interest of Ferdinand VII, framed a provisional government, with which the Spanish administration consented to act. All but himself bore English or Irish names. Finding him to be secretly communicating with his superior, the Spanish governor at Mobile, the Americans effected a revolution, seized the fort of Baton Rouge, adopted a flag of blue, with a large silver star in the centre, issued, on September 26, 1810, a declaration of independence for the state of West Florida, framed a constitution, elected a rhetorical Virginian as governor, and made preparations for an attack on Mobile.

So minute a republic, almost surrounded by United States territory, could not hope for permanent independence. The form of organization, as of an American state, the Lone Star flag, was significant. The rhetorical governor and some of his associates spoke indeed of continued independence, but they can hardly have had greater hopes than of ambitious bargaining with the American Union. A trustworthy observer at Baton Rouge reports that while "councils are much divided" (the population being very heterogeneous), "the great mass of the people want nothing more than to become American citizens—but if the United States will not accept them, they will accept of any other protection that they can obtain. Succors are now offered by the French equal to our present wants, and many true Americans . . . are willing to accept." There was also a British party.

But President Madison had no mind to deal with or recognize the infant republic. By formal proclamation he declared its territory to be, as he had hitherto maintained, a portion of the soil of the United States, and he sent the neighboring governors of the Orleans Territory and the Mississippi Territory to take possession of it. Jointly they proceeded to West Florida, and on December 7, 1810, six weeks after its declaration of independence, and eight days after the inauguration of its governor, the little republic was brought under the jurisdiction of the United States. The governor stated his willingness, "with twenty men only, . . . to surround the flag-staff [of the Lone Star flag] and die in its defense," but did not do so.

Quite as brief, and even less substantial, was the life, in 1812, of another Floridian republic. An American officer, General Matthews, had been instructed in accordance with a secret act of Congress, to occupy East Florida if there should be room for suspicion that any other power contemplated taking possession of it. Advancing to the frontier, he proceeded to organize a revolt. Two hundred "patriots," some of them American settlers in Florida, some of them mere adventurers, organized a provisional government, chose one of their number governor or direc-

tor of the republic of Florida, ran up a flag of pleasing design, and seized Fernandina and St. Augustine. Matthews was disavowed, but under the exigencies of the War of 1812 East Florida was not given up.

Next in order comes another shortlived republic, too short-lived to exhibit all the typical phases, the first republic of Texas. Indignant at the treaty of 1819 which assigned Texas to Spain, a small number of American settlers in that province, joined by a somewhat larger number of adventurers from the States, under James Long, raised the standard of revolt at Nacogdoches. The independence of the "Republic of Texas" was proclaimed, June 23, 1819, but the attempt was wholly premature, superior royalist forces took the field, and by the end of October Long's republic had come to a disastrous end.

Our next instance, that of the Oregon country, differs considerably in circumstances, and therefore in outcome, from the others; yet the process was not dissimilar. In 1818, when there were exceedingly few white inhabitants in that country, Great Britain and the United States, unable to agree upon a boundary-line, had arranged a joint occupation, understood to be provisional and temporary, and terminable upon a year's notice by either party. Such was till the treaty of 1846 the status in public law of the whole great region west of the Rocky Mountains, from the Russian line of 54° 40' to the Spanish or Mexican line of 42°. Therefore the settlers from the United States who, in small but increasing numbers, came in the twenties and thirties of the nineteenth century into the region now called Oregon and Washington, were not settling in undoubtedly foreign territory, but neither was it undoubtedly territory of the United States, and it was foreign in the sense that the effective occupation was by the Hudson's Bay Company, whose agents and servants prosecuted the fur-trade and controlled the Indians from scattered posts, chiefly in the north, now British Columbia. Neither were the Americans settling in a region of alien law, but they were settling in a region without law or positive institutions of government, which is quite as unsatisfactory.

When Americans find themselves living outside the range of positive law, their natural impulse is to call a meeting, frame a constitutional compact, draw up provisional laws, and elect officers. This has been demonstrated in scores of instances and places, from the cabin of the *Mayflower* to the mining camps of California. In Oregon, however, the authority of the Hudson's Bay Company, even if not completely legal, was so pervasive and so well entrenched as to put off for a long time the taking of any such steps. On some accounts they were quite unnecessary, for the general testimony is that, despite the rough frontier conditions, there was no crime in early Oregon, and almost no occasion for lawsuits.

In 1841, however, the richest of the American settlers died, leaving no heirs. At that time the number of independent settlers in Oregon, not including as such the employees of the Hudson's Bay Company, was just two hundred, men, women, and children; one hundred and thirty-seven of them may be counted as American settlers, including thirteen Methodist and

six Congregationalist missionaries, while the rest, three French priests and sixty French Canadians, mostly former employees of the company, could be counted on to act as the company desired. Availing themselves of the occasion presented by the settler's decease and estate, a group centering around the Methodist missionaries, patriotically American and ambitious, attempted the formation of a provisional government. But the American Commodore Wilkes, then at hand in the course of his famous exploring expedition, disapproved the step as unnecessary and as the unwarranted act of a minority, and counselled the maintenance of the *status quo*. The company and the priests opposed, the French Canadians were averse, and the movement lapsed.

Two party groups or tendencies can be discerned in these days of the joint occupation. The company and its French-Canadian friends were working for such an outcome of that occupation as should be in the interest of Great Britain. An American group worked toward American possession; but many quiet settlers, living peacefully by themselves or with American or Indian wives, asked only to be let alone. Time worked for the American party, bringing increase of agricultural settlers from the States, larger than any reinforcements likely to come on behalf of the fur-trading company. In 1843, through the forms at first of an organization for protection against wolves, a provisional organic law and government were instituted, to operate "until such time as the government of the United States of America extend their jurisdiction over us." In the decisive meeting, in which there were fifty-two French Canadians to fifty Americans from the States, the decisive vote was carried for the latter by the action of one French Canadian, still living in 1912, who had migrated into Oregon as the result of implication in the Canadian rebellion of 1837, had never been a servant of the company, and now carried a friend with him in opposition to it.

Later the voluntary compact thus initiated was accepted by the Canadians and the company's officials, and it endured as the provisional constitution of Oregon till the treaty of 1846, and even till the installation by the United States of a more formal territorial government in 1849. Only a few persons seem ever to have thought of it as a possible basis for an independent republic, though at one time a motion to that effect was defeated in the legislative committee by only one vote; but the apprehension of English control was real and vivid.

Meanwhile, in the region south of the Mexican line of 42°, there grew up between 1839 and 1846, in the Sacramento valley, the central region of Upper California, a settlement of Americans, composed partly of most worthy and conservative men, partly of wanderers without character. They were a few hundreds in a general body of some ten thousand whites. The system of Mexican land-grants, simple, vague, and good enough for the purposes of a pastoral people widely scattered over a vast territory, was sure to cause doubt, vexation, and conflict whenever a new and numerous population should appear and whenever the land should become valuable.

Patience was the duty of all who appreciated how restive the native Spanish population already was under Mexican misrule, how easily a Californian republic embracing all elements could soon be formed and annexed to the United States. It is now known that the government of the latter was merely waiting for the plum to ripen, and that British designs, though suspected with some reason and loudly alleged, did not exist. Suddenly a few ardent and oratorical souls, excited by rumors of hostile action on the part of the local government, rose in revolt, raised a standard bearing a red star and the figure of a bear, and proclaimed independence, in which they were supported by an American officer who happened to have come over the mountains with a small force. But, without their knowing it, the war with Mexico had already begun; within three weeks from the casual uprising, Commodore Sloat had taken possession of San Francisco; and the Bear Flag Republic has no importance in history save as a symptom and as leaving a legacy of ill-feeling between native and American.

In 1852 we hear of a design of American adventurers to found an independent republic on Queen Charlotte Sound, in British territory, and perhaps there have been other shadowy happenings of the sort. But for the next forty years the United States made no accessions of territory save by the purchase of Alaska. Meanwhile the American nation had undergone a great industrial change. The era of free land and peasant proprietorship had come to an end. Future expansion would consist in the outflow of American capital rather than of American population. It would be American dollars rather than American frontiersmen that would become restive under ineffective foreign rule. But aside from these differences, the republics of Hawaii and Panama have originated in the same manner and run much the same course as those which we have been considering—economic occupation, discontent, revolution, the spectre of foreign rivalry, annexation—though in the case of Panama an annexation only partial, but sufficient.

May we not claim to have made out a natural history of American expansion, applicable to most cases except those of sudden purchase? The sequence is as noteworthy as that series of minor republics with classical names that surrounded the first French Republic in its last days—Batavian, Helvetic, Cisalpine, Tiberine, Parthenopæan. The regular course of events—infiltration into alien territory, restiveness under alien law, revolution, declaration of independence, formation of republican government, eventual application for annexation to the United States, rumors or prospects of alliance or incorporation with other powers—mark all our examples as belonging essentially to the same genus.

What then is the significance of that genus, whose natural history we have been observing? Two opinions have in each case been maintained by contemporary partisans or subsequent historians. One is, that the process was one of conscious and deliberate aggression, by which unscrupulous adventurers, backed by an unscrupulous foreign office (the American Department of State), entered alien territory with a

fixed design of revolutionizing it and so acquiring Naboth's vineyard for the ambitious American Union. This was the Federalist view of the acquisition of West Florida, the Whig view of the acquisition of Texas and California, the Democratic view of the more recent winning of Hawaii and the canal zone of Panama. Not a few facts can be alleged in its support. President Madison certainly tried to induce West Florida to seek his intervention, though the explosion actually occurred before his letter could arrive. The skirts of the government are not clear in the matter of East Florida, though anarchy on one's doorstep is hard to bear. It definitely, though with perfect right, encouraged emigration into Oregon during the joint occupation. Its representative at Honolulu in 1893 played somewhat more than the part of a disinterested spectator; and in 1903 President Roosevelt, after stamping out the fuses of many incipient revolutions in Panama, finally "allowed one to go off." In the immigrating population, too, there was always a certain number of born agitators, selfish or unselfish, whose ardent chauvinism was untempered by regard for law or public morals.

But another view is possible. In the first place, the marshalling in one conspectus of all these republics and annexations must warn the partisan to devise a theory applicable to all of them alike, both the protégés of the party he favors and those of its opponents. The Republican cannot without hesitation proclaim that to have been rascality in Texas which was righteousness in Hawaii.

But furthermore and more cogently, when one perceives in so many scattered instances the same course of development spontaneously repeating itself, he is prone to suspect, not policy and machination, but the operation of natural forces. He sees the movement of American settlers over the border as a part of the ceaseless westward movement of agricultural pioneers which for three centuries was the leading feature of American development, a process as natural as the silent eastward movement of Russian farmers into Siberia. He learns, perhaps, of analogous phenomena elsewhere, for instance in South Africa. On the one hand, the attempted uprising of the Uitlanders of the Transvaal in 1895 at once occurs to his mind. On the other hand, he thinks, perhaps with some difference of predilection, of Stellaland and the Land of Goshen, small republics formed in 1882 by Boers who had gone over the border into Bechuanaland, which ran somewhat the same course as our minor American republics, but were annexed by Great Britain in 1884; or perhaps he thinks of the New Republic organized that year by Boers in Zululand, recognized by Great Britain in 1886, but, by a difference of immediate fate, absorbed into the South African Republic in 1888.

There is clear evidence that most of the Americans who went to settle in Texas before the revolt committed themselves in good faith to Mexican rule for better or worse. An English general in the Mexican service, who visited the province in 1832, became convinced that the principal colonists had no wish for separation.

That the United States Government instigated the revolt, though often asserted, has been shown to lack all solid foundation. Keen as was American sympathy with the oppressed Texans in their struggle against Santa Anna, the government was carefully neutral. The British consul at Matamoras, who visited Texas in 1837 and made extensive inquiries, reported himself as satisfied that no assistance had been given or connived at by the American Government. The British minister in Mexico told Santa Anna plainly in 1842 that he believed the authorities of the United States had done all that could be expected, and all that they could do, to enforce neutrality on the part of their citizens, and Santa Anna did not gainsay him. Jackson delayed the recognition of Texan independence longer than had been done in the case of Mexico herself, sixteen years before. Annexation was so well refused in 1837 and 1838, and so little pursued on either side for the next three years, that continued independence was apparently for some time looked upon by most Texans as the natural destiny of their republic.

If furthermore one observes how largely the movements for independent government in West Florida, Oregon, and California ran at cross-purposes with the designs of American diplomacy as we now know them, how definitely in most instances the revolts we have chronicled have ensued upon exigencies that could not have been foreseen, how gradually and with how much consideration of alternatives, at least in Texas, in Oregon, and in Hawaii, the typical steps were taken, how fully in general the most serious elements in the local populations have supported them or acquiesced in them, we shall, I think, be inclined to prefer that opinion in accordance with which the processes we have been following were mainly the fruit, not of artificial intrigue and political conspiracy, but of natural economic and social development, on the part of men chiefly engaged in the great human occupation of making a quiet living.

Pierre Arminjon in "La Revue de Paris" for October considers "The Future of Turkey." He reviews the present situation and explains the measures necessary to establish the Turkish Empire on a sound basis which would make progress possible. Whether this will ever be done depends largely upon the actions of the powers of Europe.

The "London Graphic" for October 11 contains an article on "The Centenary of 'the Battle of the Nations,'" illustrated from modern German paintings and from contemporary drawings. The account furnishes considerable data regarding the position of the nations on the battlefields, the size of their armies, etc. The three days of fighting cost Napoleon 50,000 and the Allies 54,000, in killed and wounded.

Sidney Lane in "Lord Kitchener's Egypt" ("Fortnightly Review," October) describes the progress which has taken place in Egypt under the direction of Lord Kitchener. Improved agricultural conditions and educational progress, Lord Kitchener believes, are most necessary to the future of Egypt.

A Strange Visitor at School*

BY EDWIN E. SLOSSON.

He was a foreigner, not offensively so, but noticeably so. He used his hand and face in talking so you could tell what he was saying, even when you could not understand his words on account of his queer accent. Then, too, his questions were so absurd, and he had such difficulty in understanding the most ordinary things!

The superintendent showed him into the room with great politeness and told him he was at liberty to ask any question of the pupils. The stranger inquired what study was being taught, and was told history.

"Of what country or people?"

"Our own."

"An excellent and important study. I will ask them a few easy questions with great pleasure. Who discovered the land in which you live?"

All voices answered in unison, "Christopher Columbus!"

The stranger looked puzzled. "Isn't that queer," he said, "that they should all get it wrong? No, children, Christopher Columbus discovered some islands thousands of miles from here, farther away than Alaska. Who discovered *this* country, this town, this county, this State of Wyoming? What! no one knows? Well, I am a stranger here, and I do not know; I will ask your teacher to tell us both."

But as the teacher looked rather startled and displeased, the stranger, with his habitual politeness, said: "Doubtless you wish to bring that in at some later time. I will ask another question. What European power once owned this country?"

Again came the answer in concert, "England."

"No, no. You are all wrong. We learned better than that even in my own school. You must have in mind some country a thousand miles from here. Think a minute, and you will remember, I'm sure. What great king ruled over this land, a tyrant and a wicked man?"

"George the Third!"

"How curious. No; it was Philip the Second of Spain I had in mind. When did this country become independent?"

"1776."

"Ah, you are thinking about the East. Strange that they should know so much more about the history of New England than of their own State! But I will help you. Don't you remember one of the first battles of the war for independence, a defeat, apparently, but really a victory in the way it roused the people, a little band of patriots, who died to make this a free land, how they were overpowered and destroyed by the enemy? I see by your hands that you all know it. What was it?"

"Bunker Hill."

"Why, that is New England again. I meant, of course, the Alamo." Turning to the superintendent, "Do you not try to inspire them with the heroic deeds of their own history?"

"Well, you see, the annexation of Texas and the Mexican War were considered by all good citizens as infamous crimes."

"Ah, then you think the Mexican Government better than the English, and that there was less cause for rebellion against Santa Anna than against George III?"

"Not that, exactly, but it was thought to be a war in the interests of the South, and so the Northerners opposed it."

"Well, that is natural. But one thing explain to me. Why do you call these men who would sacrifice the future interests of the millions of people now living here rather than allow the opposing party to gain a temporary advantage, 'good citizens'?"

The superintendent looked confused, and all he could say was that he "guessed it was because they called themselves so."

The visitor again addressed the school: "You are fortunate in living in a land so rich in romance and inspiring associations. You must know the story of its pioneers by heart; how that peculiar people, somewhat fanatical, perhaps, but strong in faith, driven from their homes by religious persecution, journeyed far to the westward to find freedom to worship God according to the dictates of their own consciences; how they suffered from cold and starvation, how they fought with the Indians and how they finally triumphed over the hardships of the wilderness and founded there a great city. Tell me, children, what are they called?"

"Pilgrim Fathers," came in chorus from all parts of the room.

"No, no, no. I do not make myself plain. I meant, of course, the Mormons." The stranger turned to the teacher, "So you study the history of New England here? I suppose, then, that in New England they study the history of Wyoming?"

"No; they do not; but, you see, children always take more interest in distant places and times long past."

"How strange! So different from the children in my own land."

"Yes, but it is true," persisted the teacher; "the children dislike the history of their own country."

The stranger looked perplexed. "One would think that the stories of Indian wars and the life of the cowboy, miner and hunter would interest them. Are these your textbooks?"

And he took up some paper-bound books lying on the desk and read their titles, "Life of Buffalo Bill" and "Sitting Bull, War Chief of the Sioux."

* Reproduced by permission from "The Independent" (New York) for December 18, 1913.

"Mercy, no!" cried the indignant teacher. "I confiscated those out of one of the desks, and I am going to burn them up."

The stranger appeared likely to ask some more embarrassing questions, but the superintendent, who had recovered his equilibrium, interposed: "You see we do not teach them the history of this particular spot of ground. That is of no importance. It is their history as a race that is of the most value. Miss B—, will you conduct a recitation in your usual way to show our methods?"

The teacher began: "Knut Nelson, where did our forefathers come from?"

"Our forefathers came from England in the *Mayflower*, in 1620."

"That is right. Patrick O'Brien, you may tell us why they came to this country."

"Because they objected to the popish practices of the Church."

"Very good. And now I will ask little Esther Straus why her great-great-grandparents were driven out of England."

"Because they tried to restore primitive Christianity and thought it wrong to do any work on Sunday."

"Excellent. I thought you would remember that lesson. Ivan Oblinski, tell the gentleman why the history of England is of such importance to us."

"Because of our Anglo-Saxon ancestry."

"You see," said the teacher, "that we do not neglect the important factor of race. We believe in training these young people in harmony with the ideals and traditions of their lineage."

"An excellent plan. Of what nationality are your pupils?"

"About one-third Polack and one-third Swede, and the rest mixed."

"So their ancestors did not all come over in the *Mayflower*?"

"Not exactly. There are, in fact, more immigrants landed at New York in one day now than came over in the whole seventeenth century."

"I suppose, then, your histories give a large part of their space to this later and more important immigration."

"Well, I don't believe they more than mention it, come to think of it."

"Of course, you give two-thirds of your time to Swedish and Polish history, literature and national traditions?"

"Excuse me," interposed the superintendent; "we must pass on to the language room, now."

"Oh, certainly. This is all so novel and curious to me, you know. Your problems here are unique, and, if I may so express myself, your educational methods are still more unique. I suppose you carry the same principle of racial continuity into the language work and give a good deal of attention to Slavic and Scandinavian languages?"

"Not at all; we teach Latin, Greek and French in our school."

"Ah, what is your object in selecting Latin and Greek, may I ask?"

"We did not select them. They are the traditional languages," replied the superintendent.

"Ah, certainly. How mistaken the impression we get of a foreign country, to be sure. I had been told that you had no traditions in this new country of yours, but I find, on the contrary, that you have inherited everybody's traditions."

"But the high schools have to teach Latin and Greek because the universities require them."

"Oh, when I was in the university the other day they told me that they would be glad to substitute other entrance requirements, but they would not get any students, for these are what the high schools teach. It is like two lovers holding hands for hours after it has ceased to be a pleasure, merely because either is afraid to let go lest the other suspect a waning affection."

"But so many of our words are derived from the Latin and Greek, especially scientific and technical terms, that it would be impossible to understand science thoroughly without the knowledge of these languages."

"Quite true, I see that. So it is the scientific men who insist on their students being prepared in Latin and Greek?"

"Well, no. In fact, the scientific men, almost all of them, are prejudiced against them, and consider them a waste of time. But Latin and Greek literatures are the most inspiring in the world, and no one can be considered educated who cannot read and enjoy in the original the immortal works of Plato and Virgil."

"No, certainly not. It is a wonderful blessing to enter so completely into the spirit of other tongues. 'He who learns a new language acquires a new soul.' All through their lives your graduates will read with pleasure the great authors of antiquity."

The superintendent did not see any necessity for replying to this remark, doubtless because it was so obviously true, and continued: "Besides, Latin and Greek are the foundations of our own language. No one can use the English language with propriety and elegance without a knowledge of the classic languages."

"You find, then, a great superiority in your classical students in the use of their native tongue."

"Well, not what we might expect. Those who translate too much from Latin and Greek get a wretched English style."

"So, instead of acquiring a new soul they lose their own soul?"

"Of course, for practical purposes modern languages are more important, I admit," said the superintendent.

"Yes, you said you taught French. Have you so many pupils of that nationality in the community?"

"No, there are no French children, and I do not know of a Frenchman in town."

"Then, it is for the elevating and inspiring nature of the literature that you teach it?"

The superintendent hesitated; then said: "I admit it is hard to find French books fit for our young people to read; but we have a few specially expurgated editions for their use. As I said, its practical value is the main object of a modern language."

"Yes, I see that. You select, of course, that modern language which will be most useful to your young men. We do the same in our schools. We teach the languages of our colonies and of the countries contiguous to our own and with which we are in closest touch politically and commercially. Let me see, what countries are adjacent to you in which a foreign tongue is spoken?"

"Mexico only, where they speak Spanish."

"And where do your graduates go mostly in foreign lands?"

"Some of our young men are in Panama or Cuba, some in South America."

"Spanish again. And your colonies?"

"They are all Spanish speaking."

"And with what countries are you cultivating the closest relations?"

"We aspire to control the destinies of all the nations in this hemisphere."

"And these nearly all speak Spanish. Well, you are more fortunate than we who have to teach so many different languages to cover the same points. I suppose you make Spanish the main modern language of all your schools."

"No; it is scarcely taught at all. You see there is no literature worth mentioning in Spanish, except Cervantes."

"How very strange. Our critics think that Galdos and Valdes are among the greatest of living novelists, and the dramatist Echegaray got the Nobel Prize for the greatest work in literature. I believe no American author has yet received this prize." Then, turning to the teacher in charge, "What is your chief aim in teaching literature?"

"We try most to inspire the pupils with a love for the purest and loftiest products of the human intellect. This is such a prosaic and materialistic age. And the people here have such low ideals and such vulgar tastes. They prefer a comic opera or a farce to reading something edifying and instructive, like Aristophanes or Lucian. It is almost incredible, but it is a fact that nearly all my class in the Iliad stayed out of school not long since to watch the reports of a prize fight, with all its disgusting details. Right in the hard part of Homer, too, book seven, the combat between Ajax and Hector. Shows how little they care for the intellectual life. It is very discouraging. They read no poetry except dialect stuff like Riley or Daly or Dunbar. I can't get them to read great poetry like Burns or Lowell."

"I suppose you endeavor to cultivate their artistic appreciation in other arts than literature, such as painting and sculpture?"

"No; that is impossible. We have none of the facilities."

"What facilities do you lack? You have stones and butter. It was on a stone that Giotto learned to draw,

and Michel Angelo modeled his first masterpiece of butter."

"I mean that we have no great art galleries. A copy of a great painting is not equal to the original, and we can't buy a Raphael or Murillo."

"No; but that does not apply to sculpture."

"Why not?"

"Because you can get a cast of the Venus of Milo or the Faun of Praxiteles that is absolutely identical with the original except in material."

"But it is useless to try to teach art in the public schools. Some students can't draw."

"Are there no photographers in the city?" inquired the stranger.

"Yes; all the boys are crazy over it. But photography is not one of the fine arts."

"Why not?"

"Because—because it's modern."

Here the superintendent interposed to stop the useless discussion. "You do not understand our difficulties here. This is a sordid and commercial place, and we can spend no time or money on the cultivation of the esthetic pleasures. We must be practical and prepare our students directly for life."

"Yes, I see. An excellent aim. What do your young men do for a living?"

"Oh, some of them work in shops, some in mines, some on ranches."

"You teach them to do all these things?"

"No, I have thought of introducing a course in manual training, but we have not the facilities. Besides, some think it is a fad. There is nothing the American public hates so much as a fad."

"Then, I suppose, you give the fundamental principles of mechanics, agriculture and mining, so they see the higher aspects and deeper meaning of their life work?"

"No, we can't do that. They pick up what they can in the shops or on the railroad or elsewhere. Many take lessons by correspondence from a man in Pennsylvania. The railroad sends out an instruction car sometimes. The sugar factory educates farmers in the art of raising beets."

"It seems, then, that this important part of the educational work is being taken out of the public schools. The utilitarians do not seem to be forcing you to be practical as rapidly as might be expected from what you said. What occupations do you prepare for specifically?"

"We teach bookkeeping, typewriting and shorthand. These studies prepare for clerkships and commercial positions."

"I suppose, then, these are the occupations which are least crowded, best paid and most useful."

"Not exactly. A competent mechanic earns more than a bookkeeper or a professor or an ordinary lawyer and is doubtless as useful."

"You best students, then, want to become mechanics or farmers or miners?"

"No, indeed. Men in these occupations are rather looked down upon."

"Why so?"

"Because they are generally uneducated."

"So you do not educate for these professions because they are despised, and they are despised because they are not learned professions. I cannot talk of this longer. It makes my head whirl. But your young women—what do they do for a life work?"

"Oh, most of them become housewives and spend their time cooking and cleaning."

"And what do they prefer to study in school?"

"They take mostly to such courses as music, Dante, Early English and the Art of Fiction."

The stranger looked as though he were about to question the necessity of all these subjects in feminine education, but instead he asked, "What science?"

"If they take any science, it is usually astronomy or botany."

"Do you consider that the best training for those who are to make chemistry their life work?"

"Chemistry? They never have anything to do with chemistry! None of the girls go into drug stores."

"Oh, I misunderstood you. I understood you to say that cooking and cleaning were the chief occupations of most of them, and I thought it would make these tasks lighter if not pleasanter to learn something of the science of these chemical arts. But I must leave now. I have so many things to think about. I had heard that American schools were interesting, but I never suspected *how* interesting, how curious, they really were. Thank you and good-bye."

The Teaching of Greek History

VI. THE EARLY AEGAEAN CIVILIZATION

BY PROFESSOR SAMUEL E. BASSETT, UNIVERSITY OF VERMONT.

I. GENERAL MEANING OF THE DISCOVERIES.

The discovery of a great civilization¹ existing on Greek soil in prehistoric times has made it necessary to write a new introductory chapter in the textbooks on Greek history. This chapter, because of the surprising nature of its contents, can be made most interesting to the pupil, and so give him, as it were, a flying start in the course. At the outset his attention is won by the newness of our knowledge, the most important part of which came with the first excavations at Knossos in 1900, and it will not be likely to flag when he learns that this civilization extended over most of the lands occupied by the Greeks in historical times, lasted four times as long as the period covered by modern history, and, finally, in some respects surpassed the civilization of the Greeks themselves and even possessed some features that were not known again until the middle of the nineteenth century.

This early era deserves to be studied for its own sake. It offers the most complete example that we possess of life in Europe in the bronze age.² It shows the beginnings of culture, after man had discovered the use of metal for tools and weapons; the slow growth; the culmination in a century or more of luxury and elegance in some respects unparalleled in Europe for more than three millenniums; then the gradual decay and the final overthrow by rude but sturdy Greek invaders using iron weapons. But its chief significance lies in the knowledge which it gives us of the source of the civilization of Greece and so of the whole western world. This is why it is so important

for the study of Greek history. The discoveries have shown that the beautiful legends of Greece which appeal so strongly to the imagination of the boy or girl in the high school, are based on *historical reality* and can be used as sources for history, and they offer a satisfactory and *reasonable* explanation of the greatness of Greece. We must explain these two statements.

The pupil will naturally ask why it is surprising that there should have been a great civilization in Greece in prehistoric times. Did not the Greeks know of its existence and mention it in their literature? Yes, but only as legend, and the modern science of history rightly suspects oral tradition which is unsupported by documentary or monumental evidence. The legends of Greece, into which entered so much of the impossible and the marvelous were regarded as mere folklore tales³ created by the fancy of a most imaginative people who before they gained a historical consciousness, had developed a rich mythology which gave a personality to each of the forces of nature. But the excavations have now supplied the evidence. We can no longer doubt that the legends, however much they may have been embellished by the fancy, tell of an age that actually existed. Just what are the proportions of fact and fancy, we do not know. The folklorist still believes that the latter predominates.⁴ There is something to be said for this view. The Greek peasant calls the "bee-hive" tomb at Vaphio, near Sparta, where were found the golden cups familiar to all, "the king's palace", and weaves a pretty story

¹ Fowler and Wheeler, *Greek Archaeology*, p. 39f, give the best brief discussion of the different names applied to this civilization. In this article "Aegean" will be used.

² The neolithic settlements at Hissarlik, Knossos, and in Thessaly are important as showing the remoteness of the beginnings of human life in Aegean lands. See Wace and Thompson, "Prehistoric Thessaly."

³ Grote's "History of Greece," I, p. 80f., sums up this sceptical view of Greek legend.

⁴ According to this view Minos is a god before he becomes (in legend) a hero; Bethe, "Rheinisches Museum," 1910, pp. 200-232.

about the king's daughter. Something like this may be true of the early Greeks and their account of the age before them. But the evidence which the spade has brought to light, and which is increasing every day, is against this. Sites of cities famous in myth, like Hissarlik (Troy), Athens, Thebes, Mycenae, Tiryns and Cnossus, are shown to have been inhabited by prehistoric princes, and Mycenae and Cnossus, where legend places Agamemnon and Minos, overlords, respectively, of land and sea, are proven to have been in fact the centers of the early civilization. It is shown that the Greeks knew the details of that early age too well not to have known equally well the names and exploits of its heroes and heroines, for example, the tower-like shield of Aias, described by Homer, is represented on an inlaid dagger from Mycenae, and the cup of Nestor in which Hecamede mixed the posset for the wounded Machaon, finds an almost exact counterpart in a silver goblet discovered at the same place. Finally, there is seen to have been a basis of fact even for a myth so fantastic as that of the labyrinth and minotaur. "Labyrinth" is a non-Greek word, formed from *labrys*, which in Caria, a country closely connected with the early civilization, meant "double axe." This double axe was the emblem of an Aegaeon divinity, the center of whose worship seems to have been at Cnossus. Hence, the palace there might well be called "Labyrinth," or "Double-Axe House." Now Philochorus, a Greek writer quoted by Plutarch in his life of Theseus, says that the Cretans assert that the labyrinth was not a maze, but a prison in which the youthful captives were confined before the games, and Dr. Evans has found at Cnossus not only deep dungeons into which the "twice seven" boys and girls from Athens may have been thrown to await their fate, but also unmistakable evidence that the court of King Minos was often entertained by cruel sports, bull-grappling, wrestling and boxing, in which youths took part. The minotaur, it is true, has not yet been identified with certainty,⁵ but monsters with human bodies and the heads of bulls are represented on gems found at Cnossus. If this creature was worshipped there, or figured as the emblem of the Cnossian prince, it is easy to see how the death of Athenian captives in the games at this palace may have given rise to the myth. If this most improbable of all the myths has thus in all likelihood found a reasonable explanation, there is no reason to doubt that the same may be true of many of the others. So, through the discoveries, the legends of Greece have gained a new meaning; they are shown to contain the germs of the history of the preceding age, and the interest of the pupil in these legends will make him eager to learn more about that age.

His eagerness will be still further increased when he is told that our knowledge of the Aegaeon age explains one of the greatest miracles in the world's his-

tory, the birth of the Greek genius. Until recently, this nation to which we owe our greatest debt in the realm of art and thought, seemed to have sprung spontaneously into being, "like an Athene from the head of Zeus," to use Mr. Hogarth's apt comparison. Influence of climate and of the configuration of the land, and nearness to the great oriental nations did not give a satisfactory explanation. The question remained, Where did the Greeks get their *spirit*, which is manifested in their poetry and their art, and which has quickened the thought and sense of beauty of every literary and artistic age? The discovery of the earlier civilization has answered this question. When the ancestors of the Greeks came down from the north they found a highly-developed society beyond anything that they had ever known.⁶ They learned something of its history and of the exploits of its heroes, and out of these wove beautiful legends which became the inspiration of most of Greek poetry. Doubtless some of the women of the older race married invading chiefs and so passed on its capabilities. There is strong evidence for this. The earliest intellectual awakening among the Greeks began in Ionia.⁷ Now the Ionians came down from the north before the great influx which we know as the Dorian invasion, and therefore absorbed more of the dying civilization. The influence of the Mycenaean (i. e. late Aegaeon) vase painting on the vase painters of Ionia indicates this. Again, the pride of the Athenians in having "sprung from the soil," and the cicada which they wore as token of this origin, points to the predominance of Aegaeon blood in their veins. We know that there were many Aegaeon settlements in Attica—excavations have revealed some, and the non-Greek names of towns indicate others—and traces of an Aegaeon palace can still be seen on the Acropolis. It is not unlikely that the main stream of invaders swept by the Attic plains, and that those who entered formed a peaceful alliance with the ruling prince. And it is just these "earth-born" Athenians who brought to perfection most of the branches of art and literature for which Greece is famous. If one should go directly from the museum at Candia, where the remains of Cnossian art are exhibited, to the Acropolis museum at Athens, one might almost think that the early Athenian relief showing a bull brought to earth by lions was the work of a Minoan sculptor, for the theme and the spirit are the same.

The greatness of Greece is thus seen to have been due to no miraculous birth of culture; it was a rebirth, a real renaissance. And as Petrarch is said to have "brought Homer back to Italy and ushered in the Renaissance," so the Homeric poems are the chief, almost the only, connecting link between the Hellenic and the early Aegaeon ages. These poems reflect the splendor of that brilliant age, even if it be but the

⁶ For the Danubian civilization and its part in the origin of Greek culture, see Mr. Hogarth's article reprinted from the "Fortnightly Review" in Littell's "Living Age," Dec. 12, 1908.

⁷ For Ionia, "the vanguard of Greek civilization"; *le printemps de la Grèce*, see D. G. Hogarth, "Ionia and the East."

⁵ Philochorus adds (Plutarch, *Life of Theseus*, 16) that the youths were not killed in the games, but were given as prizes to the victors, and that *Taurus*, the first athlete to win the prize, treated the Athenian captives very cruelly, and thus gave rise to the story of the minotaur.

splendor of the afterglow, and the essential quality of Homeric poetry, its dignity and its power to grasp and portray the spirit of the life of which it tells, is the distinguishing characteristic of Aegaeon art at its best. It is largely because of this quality that the poems have had a part in the beginning of so many things: of Greek literature; of Latin literature in the translation of the *Odyssey* by Livius Andronicus; of the Italian renaissance, and of modern critical scholarship through Wolff's *Prolegomena*. How befitting, therefore, that it should have been the Homeric poems once more which, by their influence on Heinrich Schliemann, led to the discovery of the great Aegaeon age, the memory of which the poet himself had passed on to modern times!

II. MOST IMPORTANT FEATURES OF THE DISCOVERIES.

No systematic history of this early age has yet been written.⁸ There has not been time to digest the vast amount of information which the excavations have given us. Our knowledge is still fragmentary and many questions are still unsettled. Hence the teacher must be selective, avoiding so far as possible matters still undecided, and choosing the most interesting and most instructive features. We shall indicate some of them.

Schliemann and Evans.—The way in which the discoveries were made is most instructive. They were not due to a happy chance, but to the persistent following of an idea. Both Schliemann and Evans believed in the existence of the thing for which they were seeking, and in finding this restored to us a forgotten age. But the two discoverers were led to their belief in different ways. Schliemann is the man of faith, convinced that the Homeric poet was telling of events which actually occurred; Evans, on the other hand, is the man of science, methodically tracing the scattered remnants of prehistoric writing to their source at Cnossus. The romantic story of Schliemann's life and the amazing account of Evans' campaigns at Cnossus furnish the element of personal history which is so valuable in teaching young pupils.

Sites of Aegaeon Culture.—Remains of the early civilization have been unearthed in all parts of Greece south of the Vale of Tempe, on the Ionian Islands and most of the islands of the Aegaeon Sea and on the coast of Asia Minor, and offshoots are indicated by the discovery of its pottery in Egypt and, in the west, in Sicily and Italy, and even in distant Spain. The cities which were most important, although not all at the same time, for both wealth and political influence were Troy, Orchomenos, Mycenae and Cnossus. Besides these, Tiryns on the mainland, Phaestus, Hagia Triadha, Gournia and Mochlos in Crete, and Phylacopi on the island of Melos are perhaps most interesting to the teacher of Greek history. Pupils should be made familiar with the legends connected with the more important sites. The geographical reason for

the greatness of some of these cities should be emphasized; Troy and Mycenae guarded trade-routes, the former, the line of travel between two highly-developed civilizations, one along the Danube, the other in Asia Minor; the latter, the route from Crete to central and northern Greece. The situation of Athens, around the Acropolis, instead of at the Piraeus, where the far-seeing Themistocles thought it should be, also finds an explanation: the Aegaeon baron preferred to live on a hill not too near the sea, for there were pirates in those days. Now the baron was also high priest of the clan, and at his palace the people worshipped. So religious associations clung to the citadels long after the barons passed away, and therefore the Athenians refused to leave their "god-built" city-hill. The importance of large islands happily situated finds an excellent illustration in Crete, of which a modern Cretan once said to the writer, "Hellas without Crete is like a body without the head." We may compare Sicily, the British Isles and Japan. Crete was not only the natural stopping-place for merchants going from Egypt to the north-west, but it was also in the midst of the Aegaeon Sea which Eduard Meyer compares with the valleys of the Nile and Euphrates as pathways of the nations. The various peoples and nations that met here naturally stimulated the growth of the forces of civilization.

The Fortress, Palace and Royal Tomb.—The Aegaeon age was an age of chivalry. Homer, it may be remembered, mentions only two private soldiers. Our chief interest is in the life of the nobility. The keynote of this life is magnificence, and this is seen perhaps best of all in their dwellings and in the resting places of their bodies after death. The home of the Aegaeon baron is of two types,⁹ the strongly fortified castle of the mainland and the more elaborate but unvalled palace of Crete. Tiryns offers the best example of the first type. The features which should be emphasized are (1) The enormous stones used in the walls; no wonder Pausanias was surprised that the Greeks should be so interested in the Pyramids and neglect such massive structures as these at home, or that the Greeks should have thought these walls were built by the Cyclops, one of whom, Homer tells us, easily raised aloft the great stone weighing "two and twenty wagon loads," with which he kept Odysseus confined in his cave. (2) The massive gateway, with its walled approach, the latter perhaps a development of the series of ring walls found in Thesaly by which access to the center of the village was made difficult. (3) The substitute for the arch (which the Greeks, too, did not use) in the magazines and gateways, as well as in the "bee-hive" tombs. The sculptured lions used at Mycenae to reduce the weight of the wall above the great stone lintel offer one of the earliest illustrations of the principle so rarely violated in the Greek temple, that architectural decoration must always have some structural justification—a principle which needs to be emphasized

⁸ Eduard Meyer treats of the Aegaeon civilization in his monumental work, "Geschichte des Altertums," Vol. I, part 2 (third edition, 1913). See, also, H. R. Hall, "Ancient History of the Near East," Macmillan, 1913, and H. B. Cotterill, "Ancient Greece," Stokes, 1913.

⁹ The oval dwelling, found at Orchomenos and, more recently, at Tiryns, constitutes a third type, but this apparently belongs to the neolithic period.

to-day. (4) The plan and elevation of the palace as showing the origin of the Doric temple.

Of the royal sepulchres, the "bee-hive" tomb is one of the most magnificent examples in the world's history of the underground burial place, and the shaft graves at Mycenae, by the splendor of their golden contents, mark the brilliancy of the age. But by far the most fascinating building of all is the palace at Cnossus, covering several acres and rising in some places to the height of at least four stories. The great courtyards and the long gallery of store rooms, the dungeons and the "theatre," the halls of the Double Axe, of the Colonnades, of the Ambassadors, and the Queen's Megaron offer interesting themes for discussion. Doubtless the fact most interesting to the pupil is the almost unquestionable certainty that the palace is the Labyrinth of myth, and the Throne Room, with its "gothic" throne, will offer a fitting transition from the barbarity of the Minotaur story to the modernness of Cretan life in some other respects. These include (1) the system of drainage and other sanitary arrangements, some of which are not found again until the middle of the last century; (2) the process akin to printing, by which the hieroglyphics were stamped on the Phaestus disk; (3) the costume of the women, the chief features of which are the extreme décolleté, the bodice closely fitted to the slender and corseted waist, and the flounced skirt—all strikingly like feminine attire of fifty years ago, and in marked contrast to the garb of the classic Greeks.

Position of Woman.—The same contrast is seen in the estimation in which woman was held. In historical Greece, and especially at Athens, the position of woman was exceedingly low. And yet, in spite of this, the Athenian drama has left us pictures of womanhood as noble as are to be found anywhere. These heroines, however, are taken from the legends, and therefore must belong to the prehistoric civilization. The evidence from the Homeric poems points to the same conclusion: Areté, queen of the Phaeacians, possessed quite as much power as did her husband, King Alcinous. The excavations have produced the following evidence: (1) The elaborateness of the palaces. It is a truism that according as woman is prized is provision made for her comfort; (2) the representations of public gatherings on the frescoes, which show that women appeared in public on equal terms with the men; (3) perhaps the fact that the chief divinity was a female divinity gives added testimony to the importance of the feminine element in this period of history.

Religion.—Legend makes Crete, the center of the Aegaeon civilization, the "cradle of Zeus." Here in the Dictaeon cave the Great Mother bore him, and Mt. Juktas, near Cnossus, was his burial place. If we were to rely upon legend alone, therefore, we should regard Crete, and consequently the whole Aegaeon civilization, as the ultimate source of many, at least, of the Greek religious beliefs. We know from the excavations that (1) the Aegaeans worshipped "stocks and stones," the tree and the pillar. Survivals of this in the Greek period are seen in the shapeless "images" of Apollo and other divinities,

mentioned in Greek literature and represented on coins, and in the reverence for certain trees, for example, the sacred olive tree on the Acropolis; (2) their chief divinity was a goddess whose attributes show her to have been the prototype of Demeter—the *Magna Mater*—, Aphrodite and probably other Greek goddesses; (3) the double axe was the emblem of this divinity, and to her bulls were offered. Now, inasmuch as in historical times there was in Caria, a country which we know to have been in close relations with Crete in the prehistoric period, a cult of Zeus of the Double Axe—and bulls were the customary offering to Zeus—it is probable that as the northern tribes came into contact with the Aegaeans, a compromise was made between the two religions, and the union was typified in the wedlock of the god of the newcomers and the goddess of the older inhabitants, and that from this union came the myth of the birth of Zeus; (4) a remarkable find in the Temple Repository at Cnossus is a "Greek" cross of equal arms, made of marble. This, Dr. Evans thinks, was an object of worship, and he also believes that this is in some way the reason why the Greek branch of the Christian Church selected this type of cross as the emblem of its faith. It must be admitted that there is not the slightest evidence for this, but the coincidence is remarkable.

Art.—The magnificence of the Aegaeans is nowhere better shown than in their art. They excelled in sculpture, in the painting of frescoes and of vases of delicate shape, and in metal work, inlaying and gem-cutting. They were more interested in the life of nature—in birds and flowers and fishes and animals—than were the Greeks, whose art was centered in man. Of course, they were not free from the conventions of all primitive art, and could not represent accurately just what they saw. But they succeeded in catching the spirit of nature better than any other nation that ever lived except perhaps the Japanese. However little time there may be in the class for the details of this civilization, the pupils should be made familiar with the Cupbearer and the Lady of the Ruby Lips, the porcelain goat and kids, the inlaid daggers from Mycenae, and the Vaphiô and Harvester cups. The wonderful restorations of the recently discovered frescoes from Tiryns¹⁰ would be invaluable if accessible, and an hour spent with the class in a museum in an examination of reproductions of Aegaeon art would count for more than a week's mere description of the objects.

Letters.—We are still waiting to recover some of the literature of the Aegaeans. We know that this must have existed, for they possessed a written language,—in fact, more than one. We can trace the development of Aegaeon writing with the aid of Dr. Evans' studies.¹¹ At first there were rude images called pictographs, which developed into a hieroglyphic alphabet such as the Egyptians used. Then, at the height of the civilization, came a real script, con-

¹⁰ "Tiryns," Vol. II, published by the German Archaeological Institute, 1912.

¹¹ Cretan Pictographs and Pre-Phoenician Script, 1894; "Scripta Minoa," I, 1909.

sisting of linear characters. At Cnossus, this was succeeded by still another system of the same kind. These inscriptions have not yet been read, but they indicate the high degree of civilization in Aegean times, as early as two thousand years before the time of the earliest known Greek inscription, and they make it probable that we have at last discovered the origin, or rather one of the origins, of the alphabet which the Phoenicians taught the Greeks, who taught the Romans and, through them, the western world.

Daily Life of the Aegeans.—The excavations of Gournia and Cnossus show best how the early Aegeans lived, the former the houses and implements of the bourgeois, the latter the comforts and pleasures of the nobility. We find the same joyousness that marked the historical Greeks, whose greeting and farewell alike was "Chairé" ("Rejoice"). Glad gatherings of men and women conversing or dancing and singing, and the sterner sports of boar-hunting, bull-grappling, boxing and wrestling, are pictured on frescoes and reliefs. And yet this life had a grim and barbarous side, to judge by the dungeons and by the indication of the ever-present other-world of horrors which the primitive mind always conjures up.

Aegean Survivals in Historical Greece.—Dr. Evans has recently pointed out (in the "Journal of Hellenic Studies" for 1912) that many inventions, credited by the Greeks to themselves, were in reality known in Aegean times, among others the seven-stringed lyre, the war-galley, and weights and standards. To these survivals we may add those already mentioned, the plan and façade of the early Doric temple, the avoidance of the use of the arch, the atmosphere, and many details of the Homeric poems, much of the Greek religion and some features of Ionic art.

Chronology.—There are two systems of Aegean chronology, one of which determines the relative date within the age itself, and the other the date with reference to the Christian era. The first system is based chiefly on a study of the fragments of pottery, and has a varied terminology. The one commonly used is that formulated by Dr. Evans, who divides the age into three "Minoan" periods, Early, Middle and Late, each of which in turn has three divisions, I, II and III. According to this system, for example, the palace at Tiryns is dated L M (Late Minoan) III. The second system of dating (in years before Christ) was made possible by the finding of objects of Egyptian origin on Aegean sites and of Aegean objects either in Egyptian tombs or else depicted on Egyptian wall-paintings or reliefs, for Egyptian chronology is fixed as far back as 1580 B.C., and is estimated with some degree of accuracy for about two thousand years before this. On the basis of these two systems chronological tables¹² have been constructed for the whole Aegean age. They will, of course, require revision as new discoveries are made. These systems do not hold for the neolithic strata found on many Aegean sites. For these one must esti-

mate the lapse of time by the thickness of the deposits on the virgin soil. At Cnossus, Dr. Evans thinks man may have lived as early as 10,000 B.C. The beginning of the bronze, that is, the Aegean, age in Crete (elsewhere in Greece it is later) is placed at about 3,000 B.C. In the course of about a thousand years, or about 2000 to 1900 B.C. (Middle Minoan II) sufficient progress had been made to make possible the first palace at Cnossus, with its delicate and richly-colored polychrome, or "Kamarés" vases. This palace was destroyed by unknown foes, but was rebuilt on a grander scale, and by about 1500 B.C. (Late Minoan II) the climax of Aegean civilization had been reached. Then begins its decay in Crete, while on the mainland of Greece it did not reach its zenith until about one hundred and fifty years later (Late Minoan III). The manner and time of the final overthrow is wrapped in obscurity. It must have occurred somewhere about 1200 to 1100 B.C., and the destroyers can have been none other than the Dorians.

Who were the Aegeans? It is too soon to answer this question. We cannot yet determine with certainty their relations to the early ("Greek") Achaeans; to pre-Hellenic tribes like the Pelasgians and Leleges; to non-Greek peoples such as the Carians, Lycians and Philistines, and to the great Hittite civilization. But some general principles may be laid down. (1) The inhabitants of the various Aegean sites probably were not all of the same race, and there were in all likelihood admixtures of other peoples during the two millennia which the age lasted. (2) The dominating element was of different stock, and came from a different quarter of the globe from the Greeks on the one hand and the Semitic nations on the other. The excavations of prehistoric settlements in Thessaly by Dr. Tsountas and other Greek archaeologists, and by Messrs. Wace and Thompson of the British School at Athens, show that civilization in Thessaly was more backward than in southern Greece, and that it was quite distinct from that of Crete. The influence of Cretan culture worked its way northward slowly and did not reach northern Greece until nearly the end of the age. Probably these backward tribes of Thessaly acted as a buffer, and protected the Aegeans from the more vigorous (Greek) tribes of the north, thus indirectly helping the Aegeans to gain a high degree of culture.¹³ (3) We are not to think of the Aegean race as dying out entirely or as being kept distinct from the Greek tribes. There was rather a gradual dilution of the original stock by the intermittent descent of these tribes. The latter kept their language and most of their racial characteristics, but absorbed the culture and refinement of the older race, until the last wave of invaders, the Dorians, came. These either found the culture of the south in too great decay or, what is more probable, were themselves too crude to yield to its influence, and so the "Dark Ages" followed.

If we do not press the analogy too far, we may compare the present lack of knowledge of the relation between Greeks and Aegeans to the confusion of

¹² Fimmen, "Zeit und Dauer der kretisch-mykenischen Kultur," 1909. See, also, Baikie, "Sea Kings of Crete," p. 261, and Hawes, "Crete the Forerunner of Greece," p. XIII.

¹³ Wace and Thompson, "Prehistoric Thessaly," p. 249.

Greek and Roman elements in the classic revival at the beginning of modern history, when Greek culture was known largely through the language, literature and art of the Romans. Then came a renewed interest in things Greek: first the literature was recovered, and then, centuries later, excavations restored to us the actual details of Greek life and art. In a somewhat similar way, after the Greek "Dark Ages," a dim knowledge of the previous civilization remained, but the world knew of this only through Greek legend. Now excavations have revealed details of the earlier civilization, but only the recovery of the literature, or at least of public documents, can give us a full knowledge of the relation between the two civilizations. We only know that whereas once we believed that it was to the Greeks alone that we owed so much of beauty and intellectual inspiration, now we know that we are debtors ultimately to the Aegaeans for some of this.

III. A BRIEF BIBLIOGRAPHY OF THE EARLY AEGAEAN CIVILIZATION.

To gain a bird's-eye view of this civilization, one should read the articles on "Aegaeon Civilization," by D. G. Hogarth, and "Crete-Archaeology," by A. J. Evans, in the new *Encyclopedia Britannica*, or the first chapter of Fowler and Wheeler's "Greek Archaeology" (American Book Company, 1909, \$2.00); then James Baikie, "The Sea Kings of Crete" (Black, 1913, \$2.00), or C. H. and H. B. Hawes, "Crete the Forerunner of Greece" (Harper, 1911, \$.75). Both of these, while chiefly about Crete, cover in a general way the earlier discoveries, and should be found in every school and public library. After this, one should read some article dealing with the general results of the excavations, for example, "Some Recent Archaeological Discoveries," by D. G. Hogarth, "Fortnightly Review," 1908, p. 598ff. (also in Littell's "Living Age" for December 12, 1908), the first part of Professor J. R. Wheeler's "Columbia Lecture on Archaeology" (Columbia University Press, 1908), or Dr. Evans' address on "Minoan and Mycenaean Elements in Hellenic Life" ("Journal of Hellenic Studies," 1912, p. 277ff.). One can then begin to use with understanding the illustrative material. The University Prints, Series A (Bureau of University Travel, Boston, \$.80 per hundred), contain half a dozen illustrations of Aegaeon art which the pupils might fasten in their notebooks. Winter's "Kunstgeschichte in Bildern" (Seeman, Leipzig, \$2.65), and Muzik und Perschinka's "Kunst und Leben im Altertum" (Freytag, Leipzig, \$1.00), both most useful in Greek and Roman history, contain good illustrations in small compass. Perrot et Chipiez, "Histoire de l'Art dans l'Antiquité," Vol. VI, give the best restorations of the palace at Tiryns and the bee-hive tombs, and also colored plates of the Mycenaean daggers and the Vaphio cups. As this volume was published in 1895, no mention is made of Cretan finds. The same is true of Tsountas and Manatt, "The Mycenaean Age," 1897, which gives the fullest and most readable account of the discoveries up to that time and is ex-

cellently illustrated. A concise account of the work of Schliemann, with many pictures is Schuchhardt's "Schliemann's Excavations," English translation, 1891, now out of print. Photographs of the Cretan discoveries are found in Maraghiannis, *Antiquités Crétoises*, 1907—of which two series have appeared. The popular account of a visit to Crete by the Italian anthropologist, Mosso, "The Palaces of Crete and Their Builders" (1907), is profusely illustrated, and has an interesting chapter on bull-grappling. Teachers who read German and French will find in Drerup's *Homer* (1903; there are more than twice as many pictures, about 225, in the Italian edition, Omero, 1910) and in La Grange's "La Crète Ancienne" (1908) many illustrations not easily accessible elsewhere. The latter work is also recommended for its chapter on Cretan religion (for which see also Mr. Hogarth's article in Hastings' "Dictionary of Religion," and Dr. Evans' "Mycenaean Tree and Pillar Cult," 1894) and its excellent plan of the palace at Cnossus. Burrows' "The Discoveries in Crete," 1908, gives the best discussion in an English handbook, of the chronology, and an excellent bibliography.

If a large library is near, one should consult the periodicals and the large publications on which are based the general works, just mentioned. Even if one cannot read the language in which some of these are written, it is worth while to look at the illustrations. Usually the first account of new discoveries appears in one of the archaeological periodicals, the Greek "Ephemeris Archaeologiké" or "Praktika," the Italian "Monumenti Antichi" or "Rendiconti" of the Royal Academy of the Lincei; the Austrian "Jahresheft" of the Archaeological Institute; the German "Athenische Mittheilung" or "Jahrbuch" of the Archaeological Institute; the French "Bulletin de la Correspondence Hellénique"; the "Annual of the British School at Athens" (of the utmost importance for the discoveries at Cnossus), and the "American Journal of Archaeology." When the excavations of a site are completed, and often before, a formal publication is made of all that has been found, together with restorations so far as possible. These and the numerous illustrations, many of them in color, make the publications very expensive, but also of the greatest value to the student. Schliemann published his discoveries very soon after they were made. For this reason, and also because of his own lack of a scholarly training, they are now of little importance to the general student. But the following will repay the teacher for a few hours spent in looking at the illustrations, if nothing more; Doerpfeld, "Troja und Ilion," 1902; "Excavations at Phylacopi in Melos," by members of the British School at Athens, 1904; Bulle's "Orchomenos," I, 1907; Mrs. Hawes' "Gournia," 1909, Seager's "Mochlos," 1912; "Tiryns," I and II, edited by Karo, 1912; and Wace and Thompson's "Prehistoric Thessaly," 1912. The recentness of some of the most important excavations is shown by the lack as yet of a definitive publication; for example, we are still waiting for the general publication of Cnossus, Phaestus and Hagia Triadha.

Finally, there are many helps for those who wish to keep informed of new discoveries as they are made. The fullest account each year is given in the German "Anzeiger," which is published with the "Jahrbuch" mentioned above. In English, for some years Professor George H. Chase has given an account of the year's work in archaeology in the "Classical Journal." A similar article appears annually in the inexpensive (about \$.65) "Year's Work in Classical Studies," published by the Classical Association of England and Wales, which also contains chapters on Greek and Roman history. There are abstracts of all important articles in the "American Journal of Archaeology," which appears quarterly.

This program of reading may be quite out of proportion to the amount of space which the text-books devote to the early Aegæan civilization; it is not out of proportion to the importance of the subject. Greek history offers no exception to the rule that one's own knowledge of the subject must be ever increasing if

this is to be taught with most profit and pleasure both to oneself and to one's pupils. Now there is no field connected with Greek history which is so fascinating—let anyone who challenges this statement test its truth by reading the first chapter of Baikie's "Sea Kings of Crete," nor any that will awaken the interest of the pupil so easily and so keenly. This mutual interest of teacher and class at the start will be likely to last to the end of the course. The pupils, finding so much more than the scope of the chapter in the text-book indicates, will be willing to go farther afield in the later chapters. They will frequently notice parallels or contrasts between the Greek and the Aegæan civilizations and will suggest possible influences of the latter upon the former, and as the Aegæans themselves left a spark of life to kindle again into the "glory that was Greece," so their story may kindle an interest in Greek history that will amply repay the teacher for the reading which has been done.

Library Work and Collateral Reading

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"Yes," said Una, gravely, "it is not so much what you say. It is what you mean when you say it." This was a child's observation after hearing the story of the old Knight of Pevensey. "Puck of Pook's Hill" is not history, but some of it is good enough to be. If my words, too, savor of discontent, they do not miss their purpose.

In no part of the secondary school curriculum is there so much chaos as in the history work. The first fault lies in the inability of teachers to agree upon any plan of procedure. Everybody observes sagely and knowingly that it is the purpose of history to train for good citizenship. But what is good citizenship? And how do teachers train for it? One reads Muhlbach for atmosphere, another drills on skeleton outlines as giving the kernel of the nut, and another emphasizes facts that will later illuminate a principle of economics, of political science, or of philosophy.

Various values are assigned history. Froude and others say it is a voice forever sounding across the ages the laws of right and wrong. ("Modern Eloquence," 5: 461; McMurray, "Special Method in History," 12; Dutton, "Social Phases of Education," 180.) Recently in the *Revue des Deux Mondes* (September, 1913: 309) Gabriel Hanotaux uses the words of Cicero to say that history is the witness of the ages, the torch of truth, the soul of memory, the teacher of life, the messenger of the past. History may be said to be for the group what memory is for the individual. Without either progress is delayed. Here progress comes by a contagion of ideas. (Robinson, "The New History," 18.) History saves the waste of energy, rediscovering what has already been done (Tyler, "Universal History," introduction, I: p. viii). Such discovery has little social value (Stuckenberg, "Introduction to Philosophy," 231). History is also said to be the double-faced Janus that looks

into the story of the past and into the politik of the future (H. B. Adams, Report Am. Hist. Assn., 1896: 248). A knowledge of history is requisite for him who would help make the laws for a people. No one has a right to consider himself fit to legislate if he is not conversant with the history of modern nations in all its phases (Ward, "Applied Sociology," 311). The day of the amphibious politician, half alligator and half horse, is gone. The prospective candidate needs more than one speech to canvass his constituency. Telegraph and newspaper are too close on his trail to let him off easily. No man is so ignorant or so unfitted to be truly social as he who knows nothing of the struggles by which, step by step, the race has worked its way up to its present attainments in civilization. His sympathies, interests, and aspirations have become atrophied for want of nourishment and exercise. Knowing little of his brother man, he knows little of himself, and his social usefulness is greatly curtailed (Dutton, op. cit., 25).

One of the elemental weaknesses in history work to-day is that those in administrative positions do not have a fair conception of the problems involved. It is safe to say that one who has not studied seriously some phase of history is unable to understand the task. Principals and superintendents often do not know in what field the teacher can do his best work. Too often the teacher is *assigned* and not *consulted*—possibly this is a compliment to his ability. "Absolute unfamiliarity with the greater number of subjects in the curriculum accounts for the hopelessness of principals and superintendents that tolerate the continuance of antiquated, useless methods, that hesitate to accept methods adopted elsewhere because of the lack of acquaintance with the pedagogic tenets on which they are founded." (Sachs, "The American Secondary Schools," 13; also, Chancellor, "Motives, Ideals and

Values in Education," 381; Report on Conditions in the Portland, Ore., Schools, *The Morning Oregonian*, October 23, 1913.) Not long ago this suggestion for Memorial Day came from our State Superintendent's office: "The Civil War with Sherman's famous march to the sea, its countless great battles and Appomattox should pass in review on Memorial Day and the great events of 1861-1864 link themselves into a chain of memory." What a memory to perpetuate when we are trying to teach there is no North and no South! Is it any wonder that the perplexed history teacher should ask from whence cometh my help?

Another elemental weakness is the lack of trained teachers. It is not easy to say who is a trained teacher. The minimum requirement recommended in Colorado is fifteen hours of history. Presumably this means one hundred and fifty recitation hours taken in any field of history. Paul Hanus thinks the secondary teacher of mathematics should have had eleven hundred hours of recitation. (Hanus, "Educational Aims and Educational Values," p. 153-4.) The latter is nearer right. Let us give the statements a formula—150 hours recitation : 1,100 hours of recitation :: inefficiency : efficiency. The *Classical Journal* once implied that teaching of mathematics and Latin was not so very difficult—"Any well-trained teacher can teach Latin or mathematics, but it takes a genius to teach history or English successfully." (*Classical Journal*, 4: 209.) The genius is *rara avis*. There is not enough of him. The deficiency must be supplied by training the mediocre, and the average teacher is mediocre. (Chancellor, op. cit., 381; Hall, "Educational Problems," 2: 283; Bourne, "The Teaching of History and Civics," 150.) *The system* keeps him static. Individual initiative is not worth so much as diplomacy. What incentive is there to work when no distinction is made between live and perfunctory work? History and English require an extensive knowledge, but are kept on a par with less difficult subjects. The qualifications of the historian and the history teacher are essentially the same—grasp of subject in unity and integrity, details, perspective, proportion, and truth (Hinsdale, "How to Study and Teach History," 139). James Ford Rhodes suggests the following preparation for the historian: Get a reading knowledge of Latin and French in undergraduate work, spend three years in graduate work. This done add five years for learning books and masterpieces of history (Rhodes, "Historical Essays," 59). Research is essential. "It is not too much to ask that the teacher do at least one piece of scholarly work, for the training it will give" (Bourne, op. cit., 152). To the academic work there is the need of additional knowledge gained by travel. The untraveled teacher of history is only a book worker and his ineffectiveness is in all points similar to that of the teacher of science without the laboratory. (Hall, op. cit., 2: 309; Hinsdale, op. cit., 147.) Green got his best history lessons in travel. (Hinsdale, op. cit., 148.) LeBon claims that he, in his historical research, found the genesis of social phenomena lacking, but was able to supply it by travel (LeBon, "The Psychology of Revolution," 13). Macaulay's description of London after he had tramped over the whole

city is said to be worth the rest of his history (Eggleston, in "Modern Eloquence," 8: 409). The reason for saying this much about the teacher's preparation is that if he has it the problem of collateral reading will give little concern. If he does not have it several years of hard work will give creditable facility in dealing with reference work. There are many printed guides that will indicate sailing directions. No two teachers ever have the same problem. Chance might land an adventurer in a safe harbor, yet the thoughtful will prefer to go with a trained pilot. (*HISTORY TEACHER'S MAGAZINE*, February, 1913, p. 37; Morse Stephens, Report of Am. Hist. Asso., 1908: 81.)

Let us now turn to another phase of the topic. The first consideration of library work is the library itself. The library worth most has some reference books and many handbooks. The handbooks are valuable in proportion to the number of pupils who can use them. It is necessary that there be enough duplicates to furnish each pupil with an opportunity to read the assignments. The physical make-up of the book is important. The best book from this point of view is one with large print on durable paper, wide margins with notes, bound so that it will lie flat when open, not too thick and heavy; in short, such a book that one can hold in the hand without tiring or place on the table, open, and not lose the reference. The several-volume sets of books are pretty but not useful. In any library are such books that have not been opened for months.

Personally, I would substitute the second book for most of the library work. This second book would be made up of chapters and extracts from good primary and secondary sources. The secondary material would constitute the greater part of the book. Experience teaches me that a book on my table is worth a score in the library (*HISTORY TEACHER'S MAGAZINE*, May, 1913, p. 123). Occasional assignments to the library would give, under direction, the necessary training in books. From all points of view this would be economical.

A vital problem is getting the reading done. It is rather hard to drive a boy to thinking. About the only thing that can be done is to create an atmosphere. How? Each teacher must answer for himself. The only argument against an east wind is to put on your overcoat or step more lively. To-day we talk about putting on pressure, whatever that means. When school and home work together and the boy has a normal blood circulation something is possible. But there comes trouble when one of these coöperative elements balks. Being a teacher myself, the deficiency lies not on my side. Seriously, it is a recognized fact that in this day of divergent and dissipated energies fathers and mothers indulge an unpardonable saccharine sentimentality with regard to school work (*Yale Review*, October, 1913: 143). And possibly that is why there is not more wrestling with the angel for the scholastic blessing.

There are certain minutiae with which the pupil doing reference work needs to be acquainted. The use of the card catalogue, abbreviations, table of contents, indexes are among these. Not long ago a college student asked for a book by "Ibid," and a law student wanted a book by "Cyc." The first week in Septem-

ber my class in tenth-grade history told me, with a good deal of assurance, that a bibliography had to do with the Bible. These mistakes are hardly excusable.

The big question is what shall the pupil read. This is the teacher's problem (Bourne, op. cit., 134-5). The guiding principle is the pupil's capacity. He reads best where the story is of the race in its youth. The interest is keener than for the last election (Hall, op. cit., 2: 290). Narrative then was simple in event and single in interest (Alison, "Miscellaneous Essays," 184). With Herbart the only place in literature where the ideal vehicle for the education of boys is to be found is in the classical age of childhood among the Greeks (Cyclopedia of Education, "History" and "Herbart"). The Odyssey stands first. It elevates the pupil without depressing the teacher, and assists the boy in his task of recapitulating the great development of humanity. The Iliad is as fresh as if it had been written yesterday. The characters may not be real, but to us they live. "For the mere hard purposes of history," says Froude, "the Iliad and the Odyssey are the most effective books which were ever written" ("Modern Eloquence," 5: 464). Ulysses is a link between the ancient and the modern world (Rhodes, op. cit., 59). It is the story element that counts. "The English and French wars live for us in the rambling pages of Froissart. Pepys, besides laying bare a human soul, tells more of what the Restoration really was than all the professed historians then or since . . . In Franklin we discover the secret of the loss of the American Colonies" (Historians' History, Lodge, in the introduction, Vol. I, p. xiv).

Biography is an ever resourceful field of material. What better example of narrow conservatism is there than that of the refusal of the leading men of Venice to go with Galileo to the roof of a building to view the stars through his telescope, or the spirit of investigation in Roger Bacon's prediction of horseless carriages, and Francis Bacon stuffing a dressed chicken with snow to test the effect of cold as a preventive of decay? Plainly the autobiography of Benjamin Franklin is separated by a long age from the autobiography of Benvenuto Cellini, and one is as perfect a mirror of the faith of the man as the other (Woodrow Wilson, Cong. of Arts and Sciences, St. Louis, 1904, 2: 7). Keatinge would use Drake's return from the Spanish Main to teach the unsuspecting pupil the dry topic, "The Act of Uniformity." The people at church rush from a service down to the harbor to see the great captain and his ships. This is the interest for the pupil, but behind it the teacher sees the hidden things he would reveal (Keatinge, "Studies in the Teaching of History," 129). In none of this is the ideal lowered to the matter-of-fact. It is the Good versus the Bad, and in some way the Good triumphs. Care must be taken not to rub in goodness (Hall, op. cit., 2: 286.) If rain falling on dry ground is left alone it gets in; stir it to hasten absorption, and the result is mud on the surface. It does no harm to let Elizabeth be first "Good Queen Bess," and later the woman who could lie like a fishwife and swear like a horse-dealer (Keatinge, op. cit., 107). The study of biography is necessarily confined

to striking original characters. Choose out of universal history the nebulae of human events in which sparkle the stars of human character (Hart, "Studies in American Education," 78). Narrative history and biography are the important fields for reading. Spare us wars and rumors of wars. Genealogies are good only when they show some organic national movement connected with them. The genealogy of Emperor Charles V is a case in point. The interest of the student is not in the day of battle, but in the days after, when the effect of the military struggle becomes evident (Hart, op. cit., 80). Edward Eggleston gives a good instance of this kind in history. "There were weddings, battles, embassies, peace and war, all springing out of the ground with wonderful spontaneity. It reminds me of a fairy story of the olden time in which everything took place without any adequate cause. I read it day after day, and forgot it almost as fast as I read it. There was not a word about the people, their manners, or customs . . . It was history hung in the air" ("Modern Eloquence," 8: 408f; see Harrison, "The Meaning of History," 78). Herbert Spencer said: "Supposing even that you had diligently read not only 'The Fifteen Decisive Battles of the World,' but accounts of all other battles that history mentions, how much more judicious would your vote be at the next election?" (Spencer, "Education," 66). It is probable Huxley would have answered him that even with that preparation for citizenship the possessor of the vote would in easy times sell it for a pot of beer. (Huxley, "Science and Education," 89: 109.)

Sources have a value in creating atmosphere. Any serious attempt at criticism or close questioning will defeat that purpose. Schilling is enthusiastic about what the student can do with sources. He thinks that by a judicious use of the ancient writings of the past the pupil can be made to look on the movements of those times (Schilling, Quellenbuch, zur Geschichte der Neuzeit, Seiten VII-VIII). Keatinge's Studies are of the same nature except that they are for English history. In our own country we have several collections of valuable sources. Bede's account of the coming of St. Augustine to England is not improved by retelling it in other words. And usually when it is so retold the interesting mention of magic is omitted (Bohn edition Bede's "Ecclesiastical History," 37). In the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle* for the years 869-93 the entry for each year says the army went to so and so (Bede, op. cit., 351; Keatinge, op. cit., 98-9). "The army" here was that of the Danes. The repetition drives home its activity. It is difficult to find a more vivid description of the feeling toward an invading army than in Jeremiah, lxvi, 17: After the defeat of Pharaoh Necho at Carchemish (605 B.C.) "they (the people) did cry there, Pharaoh of Egypt is but a big noise, he hath passed the time appointed." It is a waste of time to send a pupil to work up a topic without guidance; it is like making bricks without straw. A guide book is not much help to him. Think of your own situation when you must select from the dozens of citations the most useful one for the law case in hand. Only a thorough student of law can do that. The good reference is definite, not

very long, and intense with interest, all this with the hope that out of curiosity more reading will be done in the same book. (Tout and Tait, "Historical Essays," 532.) A few random cases will illustrate my point. The pupil is asked to read in Breasted's "History of Egypt" a two-page description of the great pyramid, and by chance in turning the pages his eye catches the interesting information that the lotus blossomed in the handle of the Egyptian's spoon, and his wine sparkled in the deep blue calix of the same flower; or he reads in Cesaresco's "Liberation of Italy" why Garibaldi's men wore red shirts and also discovers that the great hero is truly as interesting as any character in fiction; or possibly he is asked to read in Nitobe's "The Japanese Nation" about school life, finding this interesting he turns to Chapter VIII, and reads about intensive farming, and that there it is no shame to be poor. My pupils complained recently that the assignment in Heitland's "Roman Republic," describing the various changes taking place at Rome at the end of the republic was stiff reading. Most of them, however, got the essential facts, and with it that they must sometimes expect to do some thinking. Heitland says in the preface that he does not try to write down to the supposed childish level of apprehension. "Baby talk is rightfully resented by young readers who are no longer children." (Preface.) Bury in the preface to his "History of Greece" (p. v), writes: "So far as history is concerned, those books which are capable of enlisting the interest of mature readers seem to me to be best also for informing young readers." This is a safe view for a topic of which something is known. Johnston's "Private Life of the Romans" is undoubtedly a book for the advanced student, yet the description of a Roman road, pp. 282-5, is within the comprehension of the 9th-grade pupil and it seems to me there is no better one for him.

There is no satisfactory way of reporting collateral reading. Possibly a written report is as good as any. This means extra work for the teacher. The report should be a summary of what was read. It is desirable that the pupil make notes, more for the practice it gives in observing important points than for the use that can be made of them afterwards. Professor MacDonald after long experience found that "as for the preparation of notebooks based upon reading or research, that has become frankly a farce, most of the creditable books being those that the teacher has made." ("The Nation," 85: 226.)

The true history, the only kind which the greater historians of all time have told, is the history of the human will in its freedom. It is the history of personalities and their mutual will influence (Munsterberg, "Psychology and the Teacher," 291). The purpose of history is to understand will attitudes. It does not prophesy, nor does it forecast horoscopes (Munsterberg, "Psychology and Life," 211; also Froude, in "Modern Eloquence," 5: 461; Harrison, op. cit., 79). Yet, it has no substitute in times of stress and strain, and helps to reason within the realm of the probable and the approximate (Tyler, op. cit., Vol. I, p. v; also, Lecky, "Historical and Political Essays," 21-42 passim). It is more the teacher's task than

of any one else to help the child to understand the genetic phenomena of civilized society. Teach a man to read and write, and you put into his hands the great keys to the wisdom box. But it is quite another matter whether he ever opens the box or not. (Huxley, op. cit., 92.) Miltiades took public property for private use, and the pupils recite it glibly, but do they know whether the police automobiles are used for joy rides, or that it is equally wrong to enclose public land? Teach the pupil to read a good book and kill a bad one. Now it is too easy to kill the good one by reading the bad. Alfred the Great as a boy got his first book when he read it. Good books are cheap. Many people are born to a life of poverty, but it need not be a life of ignorance. (Sir John Lubbock on Free Libraries, "Modern Eloquence," 8: 811.) How much better it would be if every man could see the pageantry of history, detect the periodic movement of thought (*The Independent*, July 10, 1913), and in moments of diviner solitude feel the poetry of time.

"As the successive seasons their courses run,"

"Each changing place with that which goes before,
In sequent toil all forward do contend."¹

The Mississippi Valley Historical Association has appointed a Committee of Seven to study the place of normal schools in the preparation of high school history teachers. The committee is composed of E. M. Violette, Kirksville, Mo., chairman; Sara M. Riggs, Cedar Falls, Iowa; P. M. Williams, Emporia, Kans.; Edward C. Page, De Kalb, Ill.; Claude N. Anderson, Kearney, Neb.; S. E. Thomas, Charleston, Ill.; Carl M. Pray, Ypsilanti, Mich.

The committee has recently sent out a questionnaire to all the State normal schools of the country. In this they request information concerning the character and scope of courses given in the institution, the number, character and scholastic records of the faculties of the institutions, details concerning the equipment, requirements for entrance and graduation, special efforts made to prepare high school teachers and a query concerning the desirability of forming a national association of normal school teachers of history.

Teachers of history in normal schools that wish to receive copies of this questionnaire should write for a copy to the chairman, Professor E. M. Violette, of Kirksville.

The Commissioner of Education of New Jersey has appointed a committee to revise the syllabus and course of study in history in the high schools of the State. The committee is made up of Principal Arnold, of Passaic; Miss Sarah A. Dynes, State Normal School, Trenton; Miss Florence E. Stryker, State Normal School, Montclair; Mr. S. B. Howe, Jr., of the Plainfield High School, and Dr. Daniel C. Knowlton, of the Central High School, Newark. The committee has decided to organize its work by apportioning a given field of history to each member of the committee. Miss Dynes will take the American History and Civics; Mr. Howe, the Early European History to 1760; Dr. Knowlton, the later European History, and Miss Stryker, Methods of Teaching, Aids to the Study, etc.

¹ This paper was read at the Colorado Teachers' Association, Pueblo, November 24, 1913.

American Historical Association Meetings

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THE SOCIAL SIDE OF THE MEETING.

The twenty-ninth annual meeting of the American Historical Association was held at Charleston, S. C., on December 29 and 30, and at Columbia, S. C., on December 31, 1913. The attendance, while not so large as that of the Boston meeting last year, was, nevertheless, gratifying, over two hundred registering at the New Charleston, the official headquarters of the association. The arrangements made by the local committee for the care of the members of the association were excellent, the hotel facilities ample and the place of meeting easy of access from the various hotels, thus making the meeting a success from the beginning.

A large number of those attending the convention came to Charleston on the special train, which was a notable feature of this year's meeting. The train, as arranged by a committee consisting of William A. Dunning, C. W. Bowen and Carlton Hayes, was composed of sleeping cars, a combination baggage and smoking-car, and a dining-car, and was run on a schedule arranged in such a way as to give to the passengers opportunity to visit historic cities and places on the way to the meeting. In the words of the circular announcing this plan, "it afforded a pleasant and interesting opportunity to visit historic points in the South in connection with the serious work of the association." And surely never was a statement of a circular advocating any scheme more exactly carried out than was this. It seems improbable that any company of people in so few days ever saw a greater number of interesting places in a more delightful way than did those members of the association who were persuaded by the wording of the circular to enjoy passage on this train. Richmond, Petersburg, Charleston, Columbia and Washington, with their wealth of historic interest, were visited in turn, and in each did the tourist visit scenes so familiar to him by description, but never before seen. It seems worth while to dwell a little more fully upon this novel feature of the meeting, as it proved so pleasant and to many fully as instructive as the more formal meetings.

Friday evening, at 11 o'clock, the American Historical Association Special, with about seventy-five passengers on board, left the Pennsylvania Station in New York. Two hours later it picked up the members from Philadelphia, and then ran directly to Richmond, which it reached about 9 o'clock Saturday morning, December 27. Here a stop was made until 1.15 that afternoon, to allow the passengers to see Richmond. In automobiles, in carriages, in street cars and on foot did the members of the association make the best use of this time. The capitol, the Confederate Museum, memorable as the home of Jefferson Davis; Patrick Henry's Church, the site of Libby Prison, the famous hills, were a few of the many places which were objects of interest to the visitors. The time devoted was too short to see everything, for at 1.15 the move to Petersburg was made. Here the members of the association met with a most hospitable reception. Members of the Chamber of Commerce greeted them at the train and took them on an automobile tour through Petersburg and the many interesting places in its vicinity. Of these, probably the most interesting was the battlefield. Here the automobiles stopped and the passengers were conducted over the field, shown the location of the Federal and Confederate lines,

and told in a very graphic way, by men who had taken part in the battle, the story of the engagement there.

From Petersburg the run to Charleston was made by night, the party reaching that city at 8 o'clock Sunday morning. While in the city it was possible to remain in the train, using it as a hotel, but the majority of the passengers found it more convenient to make use of one of the many hotels and houses open to them.

The "more serious" work of the meeting, which began upon reaching Charleston, did not stop entirely the social activities, for the people of Charleston entertained the members of the association most kindly. A general reception was given by the South Carolina Historical Society on Monday afternoon, at which an opportunity was given the guests to see an exhibit of historical relics gathered from Charleston and its vicinity. On Tuesday afternoon a trip to Fort Sumter was provided for by the Committee of Arrangements, and the large number of visitors taking this opportunity to see the harbor and fort appreciated the courtesy of the people of Charleston in providing the excursion for them. In addition to these more formal entertainments there were many less formal in character, where groups of friends gathered to exchange ideas on many subjects. Of these, the most important was the dinner given to Mr. Dunning by his former pupils, who wished in this way to express their admiration for his work as teacher, as historian and as president of the association.

Before leaving this phase of the meeting, the trip to Columbia and the entertainments there must be mentioned. The special train reached that city about 7 o'clock Wednesday, December 31. The headquarters were at the Jefferson Hotel, where the Chamber of Commerce entertained the members of the association at luncheon, treating them royally. After the last meeting of the day, at 4.30 p.m., the visitors were, as the guests of the Columbia Automobile Association, given the opportunity of seeing, on an automobile tour, the historic sites and other points of interest in and near Columbia.

With the departure from Columbia, at 7.30 that evening, the more formal social functions came to an end. In Washington, where the passengers spent New Year's Day, each followed his own pleasure, many attending the meeting of the Political Science Convention, while many others spent the day in "doing" Washington.

THE ASSOCIATION AT WORK.

The meetings of the association were held in the Citadel, the military college of South Carolina, a place interesting in itself and convenient on account of its proximity to the various hotels. The program provided by the committee proved to be an enjoyable one, the chief criticism being that, by following the conference plan closely and by arranging for two or three conferences to be held at the same hour, too many interesting and instructive papers were read at the same time, thus causing members to miss many that they wished to hear. The Charleston "News and Courier" reported that a distinguished visitor to the convention remarked that "the arrangement made him wish he were a bird or an Irishman, the only two creatures he knew of that could do two things at one time."

The papers read were limited to twenty minutes, and those taking part in the discussion were given but ten

minutes. The chairmen adhered strictly to this rule, thus keeping the sessions to the allotted time. However, the patience of those in attendance was often severely tried by the delay in starting the conference, several conferences beginning from twenty minutes to half an hour after the specified time.

On Monday, December 29, the first day of the meeting, there were three conferences in the morning, beginning at 10 o'clock, three in the afternoon at 2 o'clock, and the president's address in the evening at 8 o'clock, preceded by an address of welcome from Mr. J. W. Barnwell, the president of the South Carolina Historical Society.

The Monday morning conferences, as announced in the program, were on Historical Materials, led by Mr. J. W. Barnwell, president of the South Carolina Historical Society; on Social and Industrial Aspects of Modern History, by Mr. J. T. Shotwell, of Columbia, and on American Religious History, led by Mr. J. F. Jameson, director of the Department of Historical Research in the Carnegie Institute of Washington. Each one of these proved most interesting. In the conference on Historical Materials, Mr. Worthington C. Ford, of the Massachusetts Historical Society, in his paper on Manuscripts and Historical Archives, emphasized the difference between the old and the modern way of preserving manuscripts and archives, and showed the advantage of keeping collections together as is done now instead of scattering them as was formerly done. The latter method insures their repair and preservation and, also, the selection of those best fitted to survive. He pointed out the great loss to history through the careless treatment of many valuable papers, notably those of the South, but stated that the cry now was "preserve." This, in turn, may cause trouble, for there is danger of saving too much, many papers formerly of great importance, such as reports of ambassadors, are now of less importance, as ambassadors, since the invention of the cable and wireless, are now merely recorders of the government at home. Someone must sift the material to be preserved, but what standard shall be applied, and who shall apply it? In many cases the United States has decided what shall be preserved, giving to the different departments power to destroy everything of no use to the department. In this way thousands of documents are lost to the historian, many of great value, as those concerning some features of the internal slave trade. Mr. Ford suggested that the Historical Societies of the States might be clearing houses for this material; some of them are already doing this in accordance with his suggestion of a year ago. There was no discussion of this paper, and Mr. Ford was followed by Mr. Charles Henry Hart, of Philadelphia, who spoke on *Frauds in Historical Portraiture, or Spurious Portraits of Historical Personages*. This he illustrated with lantern slides. Mr. Hart maintained that a man's face tells much of his character, and that to appreciate and understand an individual's personality, a knowledge of his appearance is helpful. Hence the necessity for portraits of celebrated persons is great. But a portrait to be useful must be true, and many are not. Few people realize how many false portraits there are, some not authentic, but merely imaginary; others intentionally substituted for portraits which do not exist, and others painted from descriptions given the artist by members of the family or by friends. The examples cited by Mr. Hart show that no authentic portrait of William Penn exists; that Benjamin Harrison, the son, stood for his father in the picture of the signers of the Declaration of Independence; that the portrait of Patrick Henry with glasses on his forehead by Sully is founded on a portrait of Cook and does not resemble Henry at all; that there are no authentic portraits of Sir William Howe, of Charles Lee, and that there are over one hundred

spurious portraits of Washington. An amusing instance was cited by Mr. Hart as a recent illustration of this falsifying habit. A statue of Columbus shown at the World's Fair was recently found in Chicago slightly changed and named William McKinley.

The conference on Social and Industrial Aspects of Modern History was largely attended, and held a most interesting meeting. Great interest was displayed in the papers and in the discussion that followed. The opening paper, *Social Forces in English Politics in the Early Nineteenth Century*, was given by Mr. W. P. Hall, of Princeton. He discussed the discrediting of the theory of *Laissez Faire*, and spoke of the legislation to improve the condition of labor, of the new Poor Laws, the demand for a fair day's pay for a fair day's work, and the growth of trade unions. Mr. Hall thought that there was ample material for a social history, and that we should include in histories the social side in a broad and sympathetic way.

The discussion over Mr. Sullivan's paper on Social and Industrial History in Colleges and Schools seemed to show that the majority of the instructors and teachers, while favoring the adequate study of social and industrial history in both colleges and schools, advocated moderation and a just proportion of time allotted to each kind of history. Due emphasis must be given political and constitutional history as well as social. In teaching the former, social and industrial forces can be seen, and the latter may have its political and constitutional aspects. Comments were made on the difficulty of getting material for this kind of history, on the amount of interest shown by the pupil, and in the number of recitations in a general course which should be devoted to the social and industrial side of the subject. The sentiment of the conference seemed to be in favor of moderation and proportion as stated before.

The third morning conference, *American Religious History*, was also largely attended, rivalling in interest the one on Social and Industrial History. The subject was a new one to many in attendance and proved very interesting. After Dr. Jameson had given the reasons for studying American Religious History, and C. B. Coleman, of Butler College, Indianapolis, had presented some salient features of American Christianity, E. B. Greene, of the University of Illinois, explained the attitude of the Anglicans of the early eighteenth century toward the American colonies; their missionary zeal, their desire to help the Indians and colonists, though more especially the latter; their feeling that the Puritans and Quakers particularly were in need of religious teaching, owing to their neglect of the sacrament, and the effect upon their efforts of their failure to secure an American bishop. J. S. Bassett, of Smith College, in speaking of the development of popular churches after the Revolution, defined popular churches as those which were in touch with the middle class, and included in the category at the close of the Revolution, the Presbyterian, Baptist and Methodist Churches. These developed owing to the failure of the Episcopal Church to come in close contact with the lives of the people as well as to the general weakness of the church at this time, due principally to the ungodly lives of the clergy. Of these popular churches, the Methodist became the most important, as in its sermons, doctrines and methods it appealed more strongly to the frontier type of society. By 1820 each of these popular churches had its own following and field for work in the South and West, while in the North their development was more gradual, as the older churches there made more strenuous efforts to adapt themselves to the needs of the community than did the Episcopal Church in the South and West.

The conferences held Monday afternoon were as inter-

esting and well attended as those of the morning. The one in which were discussed the relations between the United States and Mexico drew probably the greatest number of people. This seems natural, as the papers read gave an opportunity to compare relations between Mexico and the United States a generation or two ago with relations existing now. The feeling of that country toward the United States in the years before the Mexican War of 1846 and of a period still earlier—1835-1837—was discussed, and as the last paper described the existing sentiment, the comparison was clear. The paper just referred to was written by Mr. E. H. Thompson, of Merida, Yucatan. He brought out the fact that Mexico, having no middle class, finds it difficult to understand the United States, which was built up by the middle class. The middle class is developing, however, and in its development the United States should aid. Friendly relations between the countries will then be possible and will be of benefit to both, as each needs the resources of the other.

The conference on Modern English History showed the importance of legal materials as sources for Modern English History. The study of court records, of statutes, of trials, throws much light on the history of the time—the power of the crown or Parliament, the independence of the judges, and the liberty of the press. Much can be learned from the study of the County Courts and the Quarter Sessions, as these came close to the life of the people, and much, also, from Manorial Courts and municipal corporations. There is here a rich field for the investigator.

The third conference of the afternoon was the one in Historical Societies, over which T. M. Owen presided. After some introductory remarks by the chairman, and the report of the secretary and the committees, historical work in the lower South was discussed by Yates Snowden, of South Carolina, and Dunbar Rowland, of Mississippi, who gave account of the historical societies and of the work of historical commissions and departments.

THE PRESIDENT'S ADDRESS.

Monday evening Dr. Dunning spoke to a large audience on "Truth in History." The speech is printed in full in the current number of the "American Historical Review," and the reading of it will be time well spent. No report can do it justice. It must be read in its entirety to be appreciated. For his purpose Dr. Dunning assumed that "the province of history is to ascertain and present in their causal sequence such phenomena of the past as exerted an unmistakable influence on the development of men in social and political life." Hence, it is not necessary to study all the phenomena of the past, but in "dealing only with matters that are of high importance, the student of history is confronted with the problems concerning truth in all their diversity." And to ascertain the exact truth is the chief pursuit of the modern student of history—to know "the thing that actually happened in exactly the form and manner of its happening." This pursuit of facts and the finding of new ones has many consequences, chief among them being the tendency to "limit regard for the influence of what men believed to be true, as compared with what was true." To do this is to disregard the fact that the "course of human history is determined no more by what is true than by what men believed to be true." The great influence exerted by the history of Rome on certain phases of civilized life in Europe is unquestioned, but the history thus affecting Europe was the history that we find in Livy and Vergil—"a congeries of myths, legends, traditions and patriotic fancies"—not the history as known to the critical historians of the nineteenth century, whose "conception of Roman history is far indeed from the conception that was influential during the centuries when

Rome was a name to conjure with." Another illustration of the influence of an "error" on the course of history can be seen in the influence exerted during the last thousand years by the history of the Jewish nation, many phenomena of which are now not believed by the critical student.

The deliberate falsifying of history has also frequently changed the course of events. The "present German Empire came into being and the impulse to its birth was given by a lie." Many similar cases may be found in American history.

The critical spirit in the study of the nineteenth century has produced astonishing results. It has in many ways reconstructed the life of the past, but there is danger in "exaggerating the importance of new truth in history." "It may cause contempt for an age that believes true what we know to be false and, hence, be one factor in leading students away from the study of medieval history." The student should strive to realize that "whatever a given age or people believes to be true is true for that age and that people." The error and not the fact may be the important thing in the history of a period. Students need to remember this, for the "realities of the past will never be scientifically apprehended so long as the student of history stands contemplating in a stupor of admiration the reversals of ancient beliefs effected in our age." The historian must keep in mind that the reversal of long-cherished beliefs "cannot be made retroactive so as to affect the thoughts and deeds of the generations who knew not the reality. He must remember, in short, that for very, very much history there is more importance in the ancient error than in the new-found truth."

TUESDAY, DECEMBER 30.

The conference on the teaching of history met at 9.30 in the morning to discuss the place of history in the curriculum, the best ways of making the past real, and practical methods in summer schools. In the opinion of many taking part in the conference, the teaching of history does not show the same results as the teaching of other subjects. Pupils have hazy ideas and seem unable to remember or to think. As a help toward correcting this, Mr. Johnston suggested ways of making the past real to the student, whether in the elementary or high school. Use pictures and other illustrative material, and give all the local color possible, even by studying details to make the pupils realize that men mentioned in history had feelings like those of to-day. Study the history of the places in which the pupils live, for "any local past well realized helps to construct images of a larger past." Use the museums, houses and churches near by, for much history can be found in these.

The greatest help in teaching history would probably be the standardization of the course, so that fewer topics would be taught. This would require a deeper knowledge of a few topics and would help both teacher and pupil. In addition, better trained teachers are needed, and to meet the demand universities should spend more time and attention in training teachers. Members of the conference seemed to feel that the universities are sadly deficient on this point.

The summer school of the South is doing its part to help the teachers. B. W. Bond, of Purdue University, gave an account of the methods used to aid the teachers, many of whom have no opportunity to study at any other time. By means of lectures, conferences on practical work and illustrative material the teachers are trained to a broader outlook on the subject and shown better methods than they have been using. The value of a collection of historical materials is great. This should include pictures, maps, typical notebooks, atlases, textbooks and reference

books, and the method of using these should be explained to the student.

The keynote of the conference seemed to be standardization of subject-matter and the more adequate training of teachers.

Military history proved very attractive to many members of the association. The history of Charleston during the Civil War and the bombardment of Fort Sumter were most interestingly given by T. D. Jervy, of Charleston, and by Captain O. Spaulding, of the United States Field Artillery. Captain A. L. Conger, of the United States Army, told how military history is taught in the United States Army, and Assistant Secretary of the Navy Roosevelt, in the absence of the Assistant Secretary of War, described the lack of care shown in preserving the archives of the Navy and War Department and asked for a correct teaching of military history, so that the citizen of to-day would not think that a horde of American citizens, with revolvers snatched from the top bureau drawers, could overcome the attack of a trained force of an enemy.

The section interested in Colonial Commerce listened to a paper by Charles M. Andrews, of Yale, in which he enumerated the chief products of the colonies, described the routes followed by colonial commerce, the restrictions placed upon it, the attempts to overcome these and the resulting illicit trade. Much work in this field remains to be done, and more attention should be paid the subject, as it is so important in colonial history. Sources for this study are correspondence, registers, logbooks and letter-books in large numbers.

THE ANNUAL BUSINESS MEETING.

The annual business meeting was held on Tuesday afternoon. It was well attended, and the reports of the committees were listened to with great interest. The report of the treasurer showed that the association is in a very good financial condition, while the report of the Board of Editors of the "American Historical Review" and of the Advisory Board of the HISTORY TEACHER'S MAGAZINE prove that the interest in these magazines is growing steadily. The report of the Committee on Nominations called forth some discussion, as some members objected to the present method of nominating as too oligarchical, and suggested that a better method be used for obtaining the opinion of the individual members of the association—for instance, that a ballot be sent each member, three months before the time for the meeting, on which he could state his preference for the various positions to be filled. The report of the Committee on Nominations was, however, accepted, and the officers as nominated were elected. These are: president, Andrew C. McLaughlin, Chicago; first vice-president, H. Morse Stephens, California; second vice-president, George L. Burr, Cornell; secretary, Waldo G. Leland, Washington; treasurer, Clarence W. Bowen, New York. The announcement of appointment to committees for 1914 was then made, after which the meeting adjourned.

The evening meeting, held in Hibernian Hall, was devoted to American History. The Honorable H. A. M. Smith, of the United States Court, Charleston, spoke on the Psychology of Historical Research, after which E. C. Burnett, of the Department of Historical Research in the Carnegie Institution of Washington, gave an account of the failure and final dissolution of the Committee of the States; W. H. Siebert gave a graphic account of the flight of both Northern and Southern loyalists to Canada, England and other English colonies during and after the Revolution; J. E. Walmsley described the return of J. C. Calhoun to the Senate in 1845, and Archibald Henderson spoke of the creative forces in westward expansion.

WEDNESDAY, DECEMBER 31.

The meetings on Wednesday were held at Columbia, in joint session with the Mississippi Valley Historical Association. In the morning I. J. Cox, of the University of Cincinnati, spoke of the relations between General Wilkinson and Governor Folch in regard to Louisiana and West Florida, showing very conclusively the double-dealing of Wilkinson and his treachery to the United States. C. E. Carter, Miami University, discussed the vacillating policy of England in West Florida and her failure to pay adequate attention to its settlement, and A. C. Cole, University of Illinois, showed the strength of the feeling of secession in the South in the early fifties. He showed that many condemned the Compromise of 1850; for instance, in Georgia and Louisiana the Democratic papers opposed it. However, the Whigs supported the measure, and the Union Democrats acted with the Whigs to prevent any disunion. It is interesting to note that in their opposition to secession the Whigs of the South used many of Webster's arguments to prove the unconstitutionality of secession.

The afternoon conferences were devoted to the Archivists and to Ancient History. Both of these conferences suffered in attendance somewhat from the luncheon that preceded them and the automobile tour that followed them.

R. V. D. Magoffin showed the modern way of making Ancient History, spoke of the help given by archaeology, pneumatics and epigraphy, and predicted a renewal of interest in its study. F. B. Marsh discussed some phases of provincial administration under the Roman Republic, and R. F. Scholz gave the last formal paper, The Antecedents of the Holy Roman Empire.

American Political Science Association.

The American Political Science Association met jointly with the American Association for Labor Legislation at the Shoreham Hotel, in Washington, on December 30 to January 1, last, under the presidency for the Political Science Association of Professor W. W. Willoughby, of Johns Hopkins University. While the attendance was large and the audiences at the various sessions filled the rooms in which they met, there was a general feeling of regret that the American Historical Association was not with us. A large majority of the members of the Political Science Association are also members of the Historical Association, and it seems unnecessary to put upon them the necessity of deciding which master they will serve, when it is so easy to serve both when they are together.

The program follows:

TUESDAY AFTERNOON, DECEMBER 30.

International Law and Diplomacy:

War Claims in International Law, Mr. E. M. Borchard, Department of State, Washington, D. C.

The Treaty of Ghent, a Centenary Estimate, Professor Frank A. Updyke, Dartmouth College.

The Effects of the Balkan War on European Alliances, Professor N. Dwight Harris, Northwestern University.

The Labor Problem in the Philippines, Professor F. Wells Williams, Yale University.

TUESDAY EVENING, DECEMBER 30.

Joint session with American Association for Labor Legislation.

Presiding officer, Admiral Charles H. Stockton, president of the George Washington University.

Presidential Addresses:

The Individual and the State, Professor W. W. Willoughby, Johns Hopkins University, president American Political Science Association.

The Philosophy of Labor Legislation, Professor W. F. Willoughby, Princeton University, president of American Association for Labor Legislation.

10 p.m. Informal smoker at Cosmos Club.

WEDNESDAY MORNING, DECEMBER 31.

Political Theory:

The Nature and Scope of Present Political Theory, Professor Raymond G. Gettell, Trinity College, Hartford, Conn.
Some Political Tendencies in Modern Legislation, Dr. Ernest Brunken, Library of Congress.

Theories of Sovereignty, Mr. Robert Lansing, Watertown, N. Y.

The American Philosophy of the Relationship between Nations and their Annexed Countries, Mr. Alpheus H. Snow, Washington, D. C.

WEDNESDAY NOON, DECEMBER 31.

Executive Council Meeting.

WEDNESDAY AFTERNOON, DECEMBER 31.

Legislative Reference Bureaus:

The Use of Expert Aid in the Betterment of American Statute Law, Professor Chester Lloyd Jones, University of Wisconsin.

The Proposed National Reference Bureau, Hon. Robert L. Owen, Senator from Oklahoma.

Legislative Reference Bureaus for Political Parties, Mr. Donald Richberg, Director Legislative Bureau, Progressive National Party.

Scientific Assistance in Law Making, Dr. Horace E. Flack, Department of Legislative Reference, Baltimore.

Discussion by Dr. Charles McCarthy, Chief of Legislative Reference Department, Wisconsin; John A. Lapp, Director Bureau of Legislative and Administrative Information, Indiana, and Professor Charles E. Merriam, University of Chicago.

WEDNESDAY EVENING, DECEMBER 31.

Congressional Procedure:

The Importance of Rules of Congressional Procedure; a discussion of the influence of legislative procedure in shaping the governments of England, France and the United States, Mr. A. Maurice Low, Washington, D. C.

The Correlation of the Work of the Executive and Congress, Professor W. F. Willoughby, Princeton University.

Executive Participation in Legislation as a Means of Securing Legislative Efficiency and Responsibility, Professor J. W. Garner, University of Illinois.

Present Methods of Congressional Legislation, Dr. J. David Thompson, Law Librarian of Congress.

THURSDAY MORNING, JANUARY 1.

Conference of Instruction in Political Science, under direction of Professor Charles G. Haines, of Whitman College, Walla Walla, Washington, Chairman Committee on Instruction in Government.

New Proportions in Political Instruction, Professor Edgar Dawson, Normal College, New York City.

Methods and Materials in Political Instruction, Professor J. Lynn Barnard, School of Pedagogy, Philadelphia.

Report on Instruction in Government in Colleges and Universities, Professor Charles G. Haines.

Discussion by Professor Clyde L. King, University of Pennsylvania; Professor J. Q. Dealey, Brown University; Professor E. M. Sait, Columbia University; Dr. Arthur W. Dunn, New York City, Chairman Committee on Civic Education, National Municipal League.

THURSDAY AFTERNOON, JANUARY 1.

General Session. Reports of Standing Committees on legislative methods, practical instruction in government,

city and county government and State governments. Discussion of reports. Annual business meeting.

The exercises on Thursday morning were the ones most interesting to readers of this magazine, and were probably the most spirited at the meeting. Professor Dawson in discussing his topic asked that more stress be given in teaching politics in college, to the State and local government as compared with Federal affairs, showing that the textbooks now in use give very meager attention to anything but the national government, that the approach be from functions to machinery, and that some attention be given to comparisons with the practice in foreign countries. Professor Barnard made one of his usual strong pleas for more practical use of the material directly at hand for teaching government in all the stages of the student's progress. He showed how impossible it is for the college to offer real college work in this subject until the schools begin to teach real civics. He disclaimed any desire to criticize the schools, laying the blame where it belongs—on the colleges and universities which do not prepare teachers for the work in this field and on the administrative officers of the school systems who do not insist that none but properly trained persons should be permitted to give instruction in this vital subject.

Professor Haines read a preliminary report of what promises to be an epoch-making investigation of the field of instruction in civics, government or political science. This report dealt with the work being done in the colleges and universities. An investigation of that of the secondary schools is to be taken up at once, and then the primary instruction is to follow. Readers of this magazine who receive questionnaires from this committee are urged to give them careful attention in order that training for citizenship may be advanced as rapidly as possible after the long neglect of it.

The association elected John Bassett Moore, Esq., now of the national Department of State, president for next year, and voted to meet in Chicago in December, 1914. Teachers will be interested in the appointment of a committee to investigate the present status of free speech in American educational institutions and of tenure of office for those teachers of political science who are disposed to express their honest opinions on questions of public interest.

Reports from the Historical Field

WALTER H. CUSHING, EDITOR.

The Herbert Baxter Adams prize has been awarded for 1913 to Miss Violet Barbour of Indianapolis for an essay on Henry Benet, Earl of Arlington.

Professor Edward A. Smith has been called from Princeton University to Allegheny College.

Professor George E. Howard, of the University of Nebraska, has compiled a useful reference book entitled, "Present Political Questions." A set of references follows his analysis of each question.

Professor W. S. Davis, of the University of Minnesota, will publish shortly through Allyn and Bacon, a short volume entitled, "A Day in Old Athens." The book is intended as supplementary reading matter for high schools. It will describe in accurate but untechnical language what a stranger might hope to see and hear in ancient Athens.

A gift of \$100,000 from an anonymous donor has been announced by President Meiklejohn, of Amherst College. It is to be used for founding the George Daniel Oles professorship of economics, in honor of the dean of the college, who is now abroad on leave of absence. It is the wish of the

donor that the holder of the new chair be provided with proper equipment for study and teaching, and if additional funds are required for this purpose he will contribute them.

Professor R. M. Johnston delivered a lecture on "The Function of Military History" to the officers of the General Staff and Army War College, at Washington, on January 2.

At the twenty-sixth annual meeting of the American Economic Association, held at Minneapolis, Minn., December 27 to 30, Professor T. N. Carver spoke on "The Rural Organization Service."

Mr. D. C. Shilling, of Hamilton, Ohio, who was recently elected president of the history teachers' section of the Ohio State Association, has been appointed head of the department of history at Monmouth College. He takes the place of Professor Story, who has resigned to enter the University of Illinois.

It has recently been decided that there will be no meeting of the Vassar Alumnae Historical Association this year.

HISTORY IN THE SCHOOLS.

In commenting on the recent report by the Committee on Social Science published in the December number of THE MAGAZINE, the "Springfield Republican," of December 30, 1913, says in an editorial:

"History as a school subject is threatened just now from two different angles. Some reformers would abolish it; others would pervert it to their own uses. The abolitionists sometimes make an exception in favor of American and local history, arguing that children should learn first the history and geography of their own town, then their own State, giving what time is left to their own country. . . . It would be unfortunate to carry patriotism to such a point that only the few who go on to college would learn that anything has happened outside the United States. . . . Yet perhaps an equally serious and more insidious peril to elementary teaching is its capture for dogma. In the past history has often been perverted by the demands of patriotism or religious creed; just now the tendency is to twist it to the uses of sociology. Thus the committee on social studies of the National Education Association recommends that school instruction in history be reconstructed on the single principle of illustrating human progress and illuminating present-day problems. The proposal is the more plausible, and also the more dangerous, because it fits in so well with the modern economic interpretation of history on the one hand, and on the other with the present zeal for social reform. It would not be difficult to find writers only too eager to rewrite history with an eye on the evolution of universal suffrage, or peace sentiment, or socialism, or woman's rights, or eugenics, or the sanitation of cities. . . .

"But school children ought not to be given such a dose of theory. . . . To teach history only for its bearing upon the particular web of circumstance in which the world now finds itself is to give a false notion of the past and to distort the education of the young. . . . Not the least of the benefits of historical study is the broad-minded tolerance which comes from learning to look through other people's eyes from a point of view quite different from our own. The important thing is how men have fared in what they were trying to do, not how they fell short of what we are trying to do."

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History in Normal and Elementary Schools.—CARL E. PRAY, Editor.

Reports From the Historical Field.—WALTER H. CUSHING, Editor.

Periodical Literature.—MARY W. WILLIAMS.

Book Reviews.—WAYLAND J. CHASE, Editor.

Recent Historical Publications.—CHARLES A. COULOMB, Editor.

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BOOK REVIEWS

EDITED BY PROFESSOR WAYLAND J. CHASE,
UNIVERSITY OF WISCONSIN.

HOWE, S. B. *Essentials in Early European History*. Second Edition. New York: Longmans, Green & Co., 1913. Pp. xiii+417.

We are apparently witnessing a decided trend toward the rehabilitation of the once much-despised general history. The name is tabooed, but the fact remains that whatever it may be called, whether modern or European history, this new history bears a striking resemblance to the old. Experience has taught those who frame courses of study many things in this last generation. Perhaps the most valuable of these lessons has to do with the objects to be sought in our presentation of a given block of history. Our perspective has entirely changed and many are now seeking to justify the study of history largely on the basis of a better understanding of the world in which we live and from which we derive at one and the same time our livelihood and our happiness. The reincorporation of courses in European history in our more progressive schools has been prompted by the desire to place our students in a more intimate association with their present. A textbook or course of study framed with this object in view must point the way clearly to the desired goal, and its authors must select with discrimination and care the material by which this goal is to be attained. As the older courses (particularly those recommended by the Committee of Seven, and now generally accepted) give way to these new ones, compromises will undoubtedly have to be made if there is to be any general acceptance of the changes proposed. Mr. Howe's book represents the break with the old and is such an earnest and sane effort to blaze a new trail that it should commend itself to any thoughtful teacher of history in the secondary field. Mr. Howe is more or less radical in his treatment of the field of ancient history, but we believe that the proportions which he maintains and the topics which he suggests represent what is most vital and useful in that field for the average high school student. He selects with care, and presents in such a detailed and interesting fashion the main currents of social and economic development peculiar to that period as to do full justice to ancient life. Sixty-five pages are devoted to Greece and the Orient, and the same number to Rome, or about one-third of the entire volume. After he has presented the facts about the new empire of Charlemagne and the rising power of the papacy, he introduces us to English development, and from this point on, with the exception of a chapter devoted to life in the Middle Ages and another to Louis XIV, makes his narrative hinge upon the fortunes of England. The most ardent advocate of the retention of English history in our courses of study could not fail to be satisfied with the space and detail devoted to the British Isles; we are inclined to believe that his treatment is carried farther than such a course really warrants. Such important topics as the Church, feudalism and the renaissance suffer somewhat in consequence. Mr. Howe has compressed within somewhat over four hundred pages a remarkable amount of detail. We could wish at times that some of this detail had been omitted, but when we remember that libraries are often small and inadequate, and teachers sadly deficient, this criticism loses some of its force. On the other hand he has handled the details in such a clear-cut fashion that the student is not lost in the underbrush, but keeps constantly in view the tall timber. There are occasionally statements or conclusions which are somewhat misleading or slightly at variance with the best scholarship, as, for example, the

retention of the term Chaldaeans (p. 17), the influence of Mycenaean culture upon the Achaeans (p. 27), the class divisions in Sparta (p. 34), the influence of custom upon the Roman (p. 74), the estimate of Caesar (p. 101), the estimate of Caracalla (p. 112), the adoption of the Truce of God (p. 161), the extent of the Albigensian heresy (p. 164), the estimate of John (p. 207), and the significance of the Solemn League and Covenant (p. 319). The author also fails to make mention of the military roads as an important feature in the organization of Italy; of the effects of competition upon the agrarian problem in the period of the Gracchi; of the connection between the dissolution of the monasteries and the creation of enclosures, and of the influence of religion in shaping Cromwell's foreign policy. Exception might also be taken to the treatment of the War of the Spanish Succession, which belittles its influence upon England's future. Mr. Howe shows throughout the book the results of his classroom experiences in his clear treatment of many points so often overlooked by textbook writers. Illustrations of this are his discussion of the Greek religion and his explanations of the persecution of the Christians, the rise of the papacy and the absolutism of the Tudors. In the effort to adapt the style to the readers, the author occasionally indulges in such expressions as "They carried off the Northern tribes . . . into a captivity from which they never returned to history," "the Augustan age of Latin," "sincere in his delusions," "on festivals," "accurately shooting archers." A statement occurs on page 335 to the effect that "Another Puritan author was the Baptist (sic) clergyman, John Bunyan." A few slips in the proof reading are still to be noted; e. g., "the motives for colonization are threefold," "the same times," proprietor for propraetor, "posessions." The illustrations are particularly to be commended, as are also the problems and references accompanying each chapter. The author has also striven with some effect to give the entire field an American flavor. D. C. KNOWLTON.

LODGE, HENRY CABOT. *One Hundred Years of Peace*. New York: The Macmillan Co., 1913. Pp. 136. \$1.25.

Senator Lodge's sketch of the relations of Great Britain and the United States since the close of the War of 1812 is written with remarkable lucidity and charm, and will prove of no small value to teachers of history in furnishing materials and suggestions for a series of class exercises commemorative of the centenary of peace between the two great English-speaking nations.

The author's purpose is to show how, "by slow steps, with many interruptions and much bitterness on both sides," the present genuine friendship between the two nations has been finally attained. He begins with England's formal, though grudging, recognition of the independence of the United States in 1782, and the tendency of Englishmen to belittle the separation of the eighteenth century. Then follows a description of the "strange blindness" of the great mass of British subjects and their leaders to the fact that the friendship of this new nation would have proved a valuable asset in the ensuing struggle with France and Napoleon. But England was content, after driving the hard bargain of the Jay treaty, to turn her back to her former colonies and for two decades to treat them with contempt, until repeated indignities, humiliation and outrages led to the "second war for independence."

The changed attitude of official England after the Treaty of Ghent is well brought out in the discussion of the Treaty of 1818, which determined the rights of American fishing vessels in Canadian and Newfoundland waters and

of the rapprochement at the time of the Holy Alliance and the revolt of Spain's American dependencies.

But with Englishmen generally, "the old attitude was still so fixed, the old habits still too strong, to be abandoned in a moment." English writers, great and small, took up the work which the government, for the time at least, had abandoned. In reviews, newspapers and books, from which quotations are given, popular writers like Robert Southey, Sydney Smith, Mrs. Trollope, Captain Basil Hull and Charles Dickens carried on for many years what seemed to sensitive Americans a systematic campaign of defamation intended to inflame English hostility toward everything American and to discourage emigration thither. In creating "a settled hate on the part of one people for another," these writers were more effective than diplomatists and ministers.

Toward the end of this "period of the English commentators on America," however, a better feeling gradually manifested itself between the two countries, and the public events which mark this change are the Webster-Ashburton Treaty of 1842, the adjustment of the Oregon boundary dispute in 1846, the Clayton-Bulwer Treaty of 1850, the Elgin reciprocity treaty with Canada in 1854, and the cordial reception given to the Prince of Wales upon his visit to the United States in 1860.

About one-fourth of the volume consists of an admirable condensation of the story of England's attitude toward our Civil War and of the diplomatic incidents growing out of it, culminating in the Geneva arbitration. The volume closes with brief accounts of the Venezuelan controversy, England's friendliness toward the United States during the Spanish-American War, the abrogation of the Clayton-Bulwer Treaty and the Alaskan boundary settlement. In a work which claims to be no more than a sketch, one cannot expect to find an exhaustive treatment of any single topic, and several incidents of secondary importance are necessarily passed over with the briefest mention, or omitted altogether, as in the case of the fur seal arbitration of 1892-1893. Among the sixteen illustrations in the book are a few taken from English publications which reflect English ideas of America before 1850. P. ORMAN RAY.

Pennsylvania State College.

ROOT, WINFRED TREXLER, and AMES, HERMAN VANDENBURG. Syllabus of American Colonial History, from the Beginning of Colonial Expansion to the Formation of the Federal Union. New York: Longmans, Green & Co., 1912. Pp. x+123. \$1.00.

No part of American history has been more thoroughly overhauled during the last fifteen years than the colonial period, and in no part has the old view been more completely modified; yet there is not a textbook which properly reflects the results of this new scholarship. As a consequence partly of this, partly of the fact that comparatively few of the teachers have had the opportunity to get special training in this field, it results that the teaching of this period in the secondary schools has been affected but little by recent investigations. This is regrettable, not only because it leaves the pupil with a false notion of the relations of the colonies with the mother country, but more particularly because it leaves him with a very poor notion of the development of those political institutions within the colonies which were the bases of our own governmental system.

The Syllabus of Professors Root and Ames will do much to remedy this situation. Though designed primarily for advanced college classes, and entirely beyond the reach of

a high school class, it should prove a boon to the teacher who desires not only an orderly arrangement of topical studies, but also a careful reference list to the latest and best authorities. The Syllabus is divided into six parts: (I) Discovery, Exploration and Colonization; (II) Political and Institutional Development, 1606-1689; (III) The British Colonial System, 1606-1689; (IV) Provincial America, 1690-1748; (V) Reorganization and Revolution, 1748-1776; (VI) Confederation and Constitution, 1776-1789. These are sufficient, without reproducing the sub-divisions, to show that the authors have given special attention to the relations of the colonies to Great Britain and the British Empire generally and to the development of colonial institutions. An excellent feature is the placing of references so that they make easy the investigation of the smaller topics. While the general order is necessarily chronological, the detailed arrangement is not so. Little attention is given to mere political events of no great significance or to military campaigns. The emphasis is upon institutions and the more concrete evidences of colonial development. For instance, in the part covering the years of the Revolution, while there is every evidence that a war is being waged and a new government is struggling to exist, there is no suggestion, except incidentally, of the events of the war itself. Attention is fixed wholly upon problems of government and diplomacy. The explanation, of course, is that this is not intended as a complete general syllabus, but is concerned chiefly with institutions. The subjects neglected, moreover, are those most familiar to the student, or are most easily found, while those treated in the syllabus are far more difficult to deal with.

This syllabus should do a great deal toward the development of a broader treatment of our colonial period. Though not adapted to and never intended for high school pupils, it should be in the library of every progressive teacher of American history. CHAS. W. RAMSDALL.

University of Texas.

TUELL, HARRIET E., and HATCH, ROY W. Selected Readings in English History. Boston: Ginn & Co., 1913. Pp. 501. \$1.40.

In making this volume the compilers have drawn mainly on secondary authorities. In this respect it differs essentially from other well-known collections. The work comprises well-chosen selections from the works of Freeman, Green, Norgate, Goodwin, Smith, Creighton, Gardiner, Firth and Macaulay, with quotations from poems of Tennyson, Burns, Shakespeare and Milton, and from speeches of Chamberlain, Gladstone, Bright, Chamberlain and others. The compilers are evidently of the opinion that source material is usually too difficult for the secondary student to use with advantage, and have included but little of such material. While it is true that young students find difficulty in working with the sources, yet such work ought not to be omitted. In many cases it is indispensable. The present volume might well have included a larger proportion of such material. For example, the text of such documents as the Petition of Right and of Magna Charta should have been given. However, few teachers would agree on the contents of such a compilation. The selections, as given, are interesting and valuable, and the volume will be of distinct service especially if used as a supplement to the more serious compilations made by Cheyney, Colby, Lee and others. It will be particularly useful in such unfortunate schools as have no library; but no volume of selections, however excellent, can take the place of a good library.

Phillips Andover Academy.

ARCHIBALD FREEMAN.

An Economic Interpretation of the Constitution of the United States, by Charles A. Beard, Associate Professor of Politics in Columbia University. The Macmillan Co. 1913. xi-330, index. Price, \$2.25 net.

Under the above somewhat misleading title, Prof. Beard has brought together a summary statement of the "economic" causes of the framing and adoption of the Constitution. The volume itself will be apt to be misleading to most lay readers. (See for instance, the review of it in the N. Y. Times book section for Sunday, November 23, 1913.)

The longest chapter in the volume and the one in which the writer brings forward considerable new material of his own exhuming, from the records of the Treasury Department at Washington, is Chapter V. In this chapter we are furnished with an account of the property interests of the members of the Philadelphia Convention, but the matter especially emphasized is their holdings of public securities. In brief, Prof. Beard finds that, of the 55 members of the Convention, no fewer than 40 appear at one time or other on the records of the Treasury Department, for the twenty years between 1779 and 1799, for sums varying from a few hundred dollars up to more than one hundred thousand dollars, and amounting in the aggregate, if we leave out of account the probable holdings of Robert Morris, whose ordinary business was that of banker and broker, to perhaps \$450,000. He thereupon concludes (pp. 149-50) that "public security interests were extensively represented in the Convention," that with one or two exceptions, "each State had one or more prominent representatives in the Convention who held (sic) more than a negligible amount of securities, and who could therefore speak with feeling and authority on the question of providing in the new Constitution for the full discharge of the public debt" (p. 150). These conclusions and the conclusions that are reasonably implied thereby invite scrutiny, but it will be seen—scarcely survive it.

In the first place, even if we suppose, for the sake of the argument, that members of the Convention were holders in 1787 of public securities to the face value of \$450,000, the probability would be that at least one-third of such securities were evidences of State indebtedness, the payment of which by the National Government the Constitution in no wise suggests. Again of the remaining \$300,000 worth, in nominal value, nearly two-thirds would have been, by Mr. Beard's own showing, the holdings of five men, McClurg, Dayton, Gerry, Johnson and Langdon—two of them decidedly inconspicuous figures and one finally an opponent of the Constitution—while the holdings of the five admitted leaders of the Convention, Hamilton, Madison, Gouverneur Morris, Wilson and Charles Pinckney, would have been, save those of Pinckney, who is said to have funded some \$14,000 worth of securities "early in the history of the new system" (p. 139) practically nil. But again, even the heaviest holder of securities in 1787 could have obtained but a minimum benefit, we will not say merely from the action of the Convention, but even from the adoption of the Constitution and its going into effect. Thus Mr. Beard himself quotes from Callender (p. 35, foot-note) a statement to the effect that Hamilton pumped into the domestic debt of the Confederation, by his funding proposition of 1790, fully five-eighths of its value, an assertion which is well borne out by Prof. Dewey's statement (Financial History, 1st ed. p. 91), that upon the publication of Hamilton's Report of January 14, 1790, recommending the discharge of this debt at face value, "certificates went up to fifty cents on the dollar." But certainly this debt was worth something before the Convention met. But if this be admitted, and it be further

admitted that Hamilton was responsible for five-eighths of its eventual value, what margin remains to represent a gain from the going into effect of the Constitution,—to say nothing of its mere framing?

But the fact of the matter is that Professor Beard's whole argument rests upon a totally unallowable assumption. "It is here assumed," he writes in a foot-note on page 75, "that when a member of the Convention appears upon the funding books of the new government he was a public creditor at the time of the Convention. Of course, it is possible that some of the members who are recorded as security holders possessed no paper when they went to Philadelphia, but purchased it afterward for speculation. But it is hardly to be supposed that many of them would sink to the level of mere speculators." With all due respect, this is the most unmitigated rot. Why should not former members of the Convention have invested their money in public securities in 1790 and the years following, when they saw these rising in value and becoming safe sources of income. By his loose use of the word "speculation," Mr. Beard abstracts all the poison from it. Perhaps three men who were members of the Convention of 1787 deserve the epithet "speculator" in any odious sense of the term, because of their connection with public securities; namely, Gerry, Dayton of New Jersey, and Fitzsimons of Pennsylvania. But at any rate, to return to the main point, so far as Mr. Beard's evidence shows, precisely seven members of the Convention—again excepting Robert Morris—had held public securities anterior to the meeting of the Convention; namely, Baldwin of Georgia, Blair of Virginia, Brearley of New Jersey, Gilman of New Hampshire, Gerry and Strong of Massachusetts, Mifflin of Pennsylvania, and Read of Delaware; and the total holdings of these men were apparently less than \$90,000 in nominal value. Furthermore, of this amount fully two-thirds was the property of Elbridge Gerry, who, however, was so little influenced by this consideration that he refused to sign the Constitution and opposed its adoption!

But the case of Gerry is worth a little further investigation, as it turns out. On page 98, in a foot-note, Prof. Beard alludes to Ellsworth's charge, after the Convention, that Gerry finally turned against the Constitution because the Convention had refused to adopt a motion of his to saddle the proposed government with the obligation of redeeming the old continental currency. Of this charge Prof. Beard says: "It does not appear in Farrand's Records that any such motion was made in the Convention." This vindication of Gerry, however, as Mr. Beard should have been aware from his perusal of the Records, is but a technical one against a charge that was faultily worded. For the motion that Gerry stood sponsor for was the motion of Gouverneur Morris (who held no public securities) that "the legislature shall discharge the debts," etc., of the United States. The objections to this motion were pointed out by Mason, as follows: "The use of the term 'shall' will beget speculations and increase the pestilential practice of stock-jobbing." Furthermore, "What he particularly wished was to leave the door open for buying up the securities, which he thought would be precluded by the term 'shall' as requiring nominal payment." Gerry followed Mason with a strong defense of stock-jobbing, notwithstanding which Randolph's alternative motion, making the obligations of the Confederation the legal obligations of the proposed Government, but otherwise leaving the creditors in statu quo, was adopted by a vote of ten States to one (Pennsylvania). In other words, not only did the Convention not determine the basis on which the United States was to meet the obligations of the Confederation, but it deliberately avoided doing so. Nevertheless, as we have seen, Prof. Beard describes the members of the Convention

as speaking "with feeling and authority on the question of providing in the new Constitution for the full discharge of the public debt."

Prof. Beard is upon safer ground when he asserts that a leading purpose of the Convention was to secure the rights of property against the sort of attacks that these rights had been undergoing at the hands of the State legislatures. The purpose was frankly avowed by the supporters of the Constitution. "To secure the public good and private rights," wrote Madison in the *Federalist*, against interested majorities, "and at the same time to preserve the spirit and the form of popular government, is the great object to which our inquiries are directed." On the other hand, it was only in the rarest instances that "the interested majorities" whose malignant courses had been so important in bringing the Convention together found any defenders, even among those opposed to the Constitution. It may be noted too, in passing, that this motive of the framers of the Constitution is very fully and adequately recognized by Bancroft, (*History VI*, 167ff. last revision) whose "interpretation" of history Mr. Beard treats with such lofty condescension (pp. 1 and 2).

Some other features of the work are also provocative of criticism. Thus on the strength of some statistics with reference to foreign trade—statistics which are by no means of unambiguous significance (see Channing III, 422 footnote)—Professor Beard would disparage the idea that the situation confronting the country in 1787 was really serious. But certainly the testimony is quite overwhelming that many people of the time thought it was, at least. (See Elliot, 2d ed. III, 65, 71, 91, 123-4, 136, 432-3, 578-9). Again Prof. Beard would seem to countenance the idea that the movement for the Constitution was a species of coup d'état, sprung upon the country unawares (pp. 62-4). The fact is that this movement began in January 1786 and ended in July, 1788, having in the meantime received twice the sanction of the State legislatures and the Congress of the Confederation, besides that of the Convention that framed the Constitution and that of the popularly chosen Conventions that ratified it. But in this latter connection we are informed on page 324, that "the propertyless masses under the prevailing suffrage qualifications were excluded at the outset from participation (through representatives) in the work of framing the Constitution." Yet, on pages 242-3, it is admitted that in Massachusetts, for which alone convincing statistics can be shown, probably only one-fifth of the adult males were kept from voting by a property qualification, that was certainly not more liberal than that in most other states (See Chap. IV). It must be remembered that the members of the Philadelphia Convention were chosen by the same legislatures that had been voting paper money and stay laws, and that the Constitution was ratified by Conventions chosen by the same electors who had chosen these legislatures. (Save in New York, where a more liberal rule was adopted.) Finally, Mr. Beard assumes to treat the legal view of the Constitution as the ordinance of "the People of the United States" as a hollow formula. Suppose it was a hollow formula in 1789, was it so five years later? Rather it would seem that, once we leave technical ground in the discussion of this question, we are in fairness bound to adopt a broader view of the process of ratification.

Prof. Beard has undertaken in this volume a task well worth doing and has pointed the way in many instances to its more adequate performance. Had he been less bent on demonstrating the truth of the socialistic theory of economic determinism and class struggle as an interpretation of history, his own performance would be less open to criticism. As it is, in his chapters VI and XI, he has furnished essays that are full of suggestion and value.

Princeton, N. J.

E. S. CORWIN.

PERIODICAL LITERATURE

MARY W. WILLIAMS, M.A., EDITOR.

"The American Catholic Quarterly Review" for July contains an interesting paper on "The Pontificate of Gregory the Great," by Maurice M. Hassett.

"A Schoolboy's Interview with Abraham Lincoln," by William Agnew Paton, in "Scribner's" for December is a pleasing account.

The second of a series of South American articles by Colonel Roosevelt appears in the "Outlook" for December 13. Under the title "An Ancient Brazilian City" is given a description of Bahia.

"The Lollard Knights," an article by W. T. Waugh, in the October "Scottish Historical Review," goes to show that there were few knights who were followers of Wycliffe, and that Lollardy made little appeal to the upper classes.

The first of a series of articles on "Victorian England," by Lady Charlotte Blennerhassett, appears in "Deutsche Rundschau" for December. The years covered by the first article are those of the first ministry of Gladstone and the second of Disraeli.

An article by William Edward Park is in the "Canadian Magazine" for December. Mr. Park, in outlining the hopeless attempt at united Indian resistance to white encroachments makes evident the remarkable intellectual qualities of the chief, Tecumseh.

In the "Dublin Review" for October, G. Fonsegrive considers "The Present Religious Situation in France." He feels that the French church cannot much longer remain without a legal status. A combination must be formed; the *sociétés immobilières* which build the churches subsequently rented to the clergy, are perhaps a beginning toward securing such a status.

The Alevi Turks of Asia Minor according to G. E. White ("Contemporary Review," November), are a people without an authorized scripture. They are adherents of Ali, the fourth calif, but differ much from the orthodox Mohammedans who adhere to the teachings of the Koran. They allow the use of wine, deny the right of divorce, believe in the transmigration of souls, and display great friendliness towards Christians.

"In the ninth century, when Provence became a kingdom, Arles was chosen for the capital of its kings. No less a person than Barbarossa was crowned in its St. Trophime. Four other kings of the Holy Roman Empire were crowned there also, and homage for Arles was done to Henry VI by Richard Coeur de Lion." The above is an extract from an illustrated article on "A Pilgrimage to Arles" by Richard Le Gallienne in "Harper's Magazine" for December.

"How the Merrimac Fought the Monitor" is described by Lieutenant Arthur Sinclair, who was aboard the Confederate ironclad during the battle, in "Hearst's Magazine" for December. The writer's conclusion is as follows: "The Monitor did not defeat the Merrimac, false reports to the contrary notwithstanding, nor by the same token did the Merrimac do harm to her opponent. The battle, the first between ironclads, was a draw, and in justice nothing more or less can be said."

"American and Immigrant Blood: a Study of the Social Effects of Immigration," a paper by Edward A. Ross, professor of sociology in the University of Wisconsin, appears in the December "Century." Professor Ross takes a gloomy view of the future of America in consequence of the inferior quality of the present stream of immigration. The nation is confronted not only with the tremendous problem of assimilating the great horde of backward peoples but also must contend with distinct opposition to assimilation, among which is the parochial school, which leaves the second generation even as un-American as the immigrants themselves.

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COMPILED BY CHARLES A. COULOMB, PH.D.

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- American Acad. of Political & Social Science. The negro's progress in fifty years. Phila.: Amer. Acad. Pol. Sci. 266 pp. \$1.00.
- Barnes, Everett. American history for grammar grades. Boston: Heath. 368 pp. \$1.00.
- Bolton, Herbert E. Guide to materials for the history of the United States in the principal archives of Mexico. Wash., D. C.: Carnegie Inst. 553 pp. \$3.50.
- Congress; Senate, Com. on Claims. Churches and institutions of learning destroyed by the U. S. military forces during the Civil War. Wash., D. C.: Govt. Pr. Off. 20 pp.
- Cousins, Robert B., and Hill, Jos. A. American history for schools. Boston: Heath. 573 pp. \$1.25.
- Johnson, E. Polk. A history of Kentucky and Kentuckians. In 3 vols. Chicago: Lewis Pub. Co.
- Johnston, R. M. Bull Run; its strategy and tactics. Boston: Houghton Mifflin. 293 pp. \$2.50 net.
- Keiler, Hans. American shipping; its history and economic conditions. New York: G. E. Steckert. 144 pp. (8 p. bibl.) \$2.25 net.
- Kilroe, Edwin P. Saint Tammany and the origin of the Society of Tammany. New York: M. B. Brown Pr. & Binding Co. 243 pp.
- McAllister, Joseph T. Virginia militia in the Revolutionary War. Hot Springs, Va.: The Author. 337 pp. \$5.00.
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